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P. Hargrave

THE CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*.

Being a CONTINUATION of

His HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION, from the RESTORATION to his BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given to the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD* by the Heirs of the late EARL of *CLARENDON*.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

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MVSEVM
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THE CONTINUATION Of the LIFE of EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

(285) THE Parliament convened at *Oxford* in greater Numbers than could reaſonably have been expected, the Sickneſs ſtill continuing to rage and ſpread itſelf in ſeveral Counties; ſo that between the Danger that was in the Towns infected, and the neceſſary Severity in other Towns to keep themſelves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient Seaſon for all Perſons of Quality to travel from their own Habitations. Upon the tenth of *October* the King commanded Both Houſes to attend him in *Chriſt-Church* Hall, and told them, "that He "was confident They did all believe, that if it had "not been abſolutely neceſſary to conſult with them "He would not have called them together at that "Time, when the Contagion had ſpread itſelf over "ſo many Parts of the Kingdom: And He thanked "them for their Compliance ſo far with his De-"ſires." *The Parliament meets at Oxford.* *The King's Speech to Both Houſes.*

His Majeſty ſaid, "the Truth was; as He had "entered upon the War by their Advice and En-"couragement,

"couragement, ſo He deſired that They might as "frequently as was poſſible receive Information of "the Effects and Conduct of it, and that He might "have the Continuance of their cheerful Supply for "the carrying it on. He would not deny to them, "that it had proved more chargeable than He could (286) "imagine it would have been: The Addition the "Enemy had ſtill made to their Fleets, beyond their "firſt Purpoſe, made it unavoidably neceſſary for "him to make proportionable Preparations, which "God had hitherto bleſſed with Succeſs in all En- "counters. And as They had uſed their utmoſt En- "deavours by Calumnies and falſe Suggeſtions to "gain Friends to themſelves, and to perſuade them "to aſſiſt them againſt him, ſo He had not been "wanting to encourage thoſe Princes who had been "wronged by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by "Force; and in Order thereunto, He had aſſiſted "the Biſhop of *Munſter* with a great Sum of ready "Money, and was to continue a Supply to him, "who He believed was at that Time in the Bowels "of their Country with a powerful Army."

"THOSE Iſſues, which He might tell them had "been made with very much Conduct and Huſban- "dry (nor indeed did He known that any Thing "had been ſpent that could have been well and ſafely "ſaved);" He ſaid, "thoſe Expenſes would not ſuf- "fer them to wonder, that the great Supply which "They gave him for this War in ſo bountiful a Pro- "portion was upon the Matter already ſpent: So "that He muſt not only expect an Aſſiſtance from "them to carry on that War, but ſuch an Aſſiſtance "as might enable him to defend himſelf and them "againſt a more powerful Neighbour, if He ſhould "prefer the Friendſhip of the *Dutch* before his."

HE put them in Mind, "that when He entered "upon this War He had told them, *that He had not* "*ſuch a brutal Appetite as to make War for War's* "*Sake*; He was ſtill of the ſame Mind: He had

"been

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"been ready to receive any Propoſitions that *France* "had thought fit to offer to that End, but hitherto "Nothing had been offered worthy his Acceptance; "nor was the *Dutch* leſs inſolent, though He knew "no Advantage They had got but the Continuance "of the Contagion, and He hoped that God Al- "mighty would ſhortly deprive them of that En- "couragement."

THE Chancellor at the ſame Time, by the King's Command, made a ſhort Narrative of the Hiſtory of the War, the Circumſtances with which it was begun, and the Progreſs it had ſtill made, and the Victory that the Duke had attained; of the vaſt Number of the Priſoners and ſick and wounded Men, a Charge that had never been computed. *Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.*

HE told them, "the *French* King had indeed of- "fered his Mediation, and that if He intended no "more than a Mediation, it was an Office very wor- "thy the moſt Chriſtian King; He wiſhed, that as "a Mediator He would make equal Propoſitions, or "that He would not ſo importunately preſs his Ma- "jeſty to conſent to thoſe He makes, upon an In- "ſtance and Argument, *that He holds himſelf engaged* "*by a former Treaty* (of which his Majeſty had never "heard till ſince the Beginning of the War, and had "ſome Reaſon to have preſumed the contrary) *to* "*aſſiſt the* Dutch *with Men and Money if his Majeſty* "*would not conſent.*"

HE ſaid, "his Majeſty had told them, *that He* "*had no Appetite to make War for War's Sake*; but "He would be always ready to make ſuch a Peace "as might be for his Honour and the Intereſt of "his Subjects. And no Doubt it would be a great "Trouble and Grief to his Majeſty to find ſo great "a Prince, towards whom He had manifeſted ſo "great an Affection, in Conjunction with his Ene- "mies: Yet even the Apprehenſion of ſuch a War "would not terrify him to purchaſe a Peace by ſuch "Conceſſions as He ſhould be aſhamed to make

"them acquainted with; of which Nature They "would eaſily believe the Propoſitions hitherto made "to be, when They knew the Releaſe of *Poleroone*(287) "in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the demoliſhing the Fort of "*Cabo Corſo* upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, were two; "which would be upon the Matter to be contented "with a very vile Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies* under "their Controul, and with none in *Guinea*. And yet "thoſe are not Propoſitions unreaſonable enough to "pleaſe the *Dutch*, who reproached *France* for in-"terpoſing for Peace, inſtead of aſſiſting them in the "War, boldly inſiſting upon the Advantage the Con-"tagion in *London* and ſome other Parts of the King-"dom gives them; by which, They confidently ſay, "the King will be no longer able to maintain a Fleet "againſt them at Sea."

He told them, "that He had fully obeyed the "Command that had been laid upon him, in ma-"king that plain, clear, true Narrative of what had "paſſed; He had no Order to make Reflection "upon it, nor any Deduction from it: The King "himſelf had told them, *that the noble, unparalleled* "*Supply They had already given him is upon the Matter* "*ſpent*, ſpent with all the Animadverſions of good "Huſbandry that the Nature of the Affair would "bear. What was more to be done He left to their "own generous Underſtandings, being not more "aſſured of any Thing that was to come in this "World, than that the ſame noble Indignation for "the Honour of the King and the Nation, that firſt "provoked them to inflame the King himſelf, would "continue the ſame Paſſion ſtill boiling in their "loyal Breaſts; that all the World may ſee, which "They never hoped to have ſeen, that never Prince "and People were ſo entirely united in their Affec-"tions, for their true, joint, inſeparable Honour, as "their only ſure infallible Expedient to preſerve their "diſtinct ſeveral Intereſts."

THE King could not expect or wish a fuller Concurrence from a Parliament than He now found. With very little Hesitation They declared, "that "They would supply his Majesty with another Mil- "lion (ten hundred thousand Pounds):" And because They desired to be dismissed as soon as might be to their several Habitations, not without Apprehension that so great a Concourse of Persons from all Places, even from *London* itself (for the Term was likewise adjourned to *Oxford*), might bring the Contagion thither likewise; They rejected all other Businesses but what immediately related to the Publick. To the Supply They designed to the King They added the Sum of above forty thousand Pounds, which They desired his Majesty to confer upon the Duke, having received some Insinuation, "that it "would not be ingrateful to the King that such a "Present should be made to his Brother." Then They passed two or three Acts of Parliament very much for the King's Honour and Security, amongst which one was, "for the attainting all those his Sub- "jects who either resided in *Holland*" (as some of the *English* Officers who had long served in that Country presumed still to do) "and continued in "their Service, or in any other Parts beyond the "Seas, if They did not appear at a Day prefixed, "after Notice by the King's Proclamation:" And the Nomination of the Persons was entirely left to his Majesty.

A farther Supply granted.

An Act for attainting the English *in the* Dutch *Service.*

HIS Majesty did hope, that this very good Carriage in the Parliament would have made some Impression upon *France*, either to have given over their Mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just Concessions from the *States:* But it did produce the contrary. The *Hollander* had received a new Damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next Place, whereupon They made grievous Complaints to *France* of its Breach of Faith upon the Promises that had been

made to them. The King upon this required his Ambaſſadours once more to make a lively Inſtance to his Majeſty, "that He would declare what He (288) "meant to inſiſt upon in Order to a Peace, which "if He ſhould refuſe to do, They ſhould take their "Leaves and return into *France* with all poſſible Ex- "pedition." In this Audience They ſpake in a higher Style than They had formerly uſed. They complained "of the intolerable Damage the Sub- "jects of *France* had ſuſtained in their Goods and "Eſtates by the King's Ships, and thoſe who were "licenſed by his Authority, which without any Diſ- "tinction ſeized upon all that came in their Way as "if They were *Dutch*: And when They complained "to the Admiralty or to the Lords Commiſſioners, "They could procure no Juſtice, and were obliged "to ſuch an Attendance and Expenſe, that what "They ſued for did not prove of Value to ſatisfy "the Charge of the Proſecution; and if after a long "and a tedious Solicitation They did at laſt procure "a Sentence for the Redelivery of what had been "taken from them, when They hoped to enjoy the "Benefit of this juſt Sentence by the Execution, "They found the Goods embezzled in the Port or "plundered by the Seamen, that the Owners had "rarely a third Part of their Goods ever reſtored to "them. And that by this Violence and unjuſt Pro- "ceeding, of which They had often made Com- "plaint, the *French* Merchants had loſt near five "hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*; which their Maſter re- "ſented and looked upon as a great Indignity to "himſelf, which He had hitherto borne, in Hope "that the Licenſe would have been reſtrained by the "End of the War."

The French *Ambaſſadours remonſtrate warmly againſt the* Engliſh.

THEY urged it as an Argument of their Maſter's Friendſhip to the King, "that after an offenſive "Treaty had been ſo long ſince entered into by "him, by which He was obliged to aſſiſt the *Dutch* "with Men, Money and Ships, He had notwith- "ſtanding

"ſtanding hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilſt "They were ſoundly beaten and had lately ſuſtained "another Blow; and that it was not poſſible for him to "defer it longer:" And ſo concluded with very earneſt Perſuaſions, "that his Majeſty would conſent to ſuch "a Peace as their Maſter ſhould judge to be reaſon-"able, who could not but be very juſt to his Ma-"jeſty;" and wiſhed, "that it might be conſidered, "beſides the Damage by the Plague which Nobody "knew how long it might continue, how impoſſible "it was for the King to ſuſtain the Arms of *France* "in Conjunction to thoſe of *Holland*, when poſſibly "ſome other Prince might join likewiſe with them."

A Conference between them and the Engliſh *Miniſters upon their Remonſtrance.*

THEY who were appointed by the King to confer with the Ambaſſadours were moſt perplexed to juſtify their firſt Charge, "of the Depredation that had "been made upon the *French* Merchants," which had in Truth been very great, though not amounting to the Sum They mentioned. Yet to that They anſwered, "that the Damage and Loſs which the "Subjects of *France* had undergone that Way had "originally proceeded from themſelves, and their "own Default in owning the Goods and Merchan-"diſe of the *Dutch* to belong to themſelves as their "proper Goods, and in undertaking to carry and "deliver the Wine and other Goods, which were "bought and paid for in *France* by the *Hollanders*, "in *French* Veſſels in that Country; all which had "been fully and notoriouſly proved and could not "be contradicted: And when that Diſcovery was "once made, it was no Wonder if the Seamen ſome-"times ſeized upon ſome Veſſels which were not "liable to the ſame Reproach. But when any Com-"plaints of that Kind had been made, the King had "always given ſtrict Charge to the Judges to cauſe "Reſtitution to be made, and the Tranſgreſſors to "be ſeverely puniſhed; and his Majeſty preſumed "that the Judges had done their Duty. For the "*French* King's being bound by his Treaty to aſſiſt

" the *Hollanders*," They ſaid, " that if the King had (289)
" any ſuch Obligation upon him, it was ſubſequent
" to his Obligation to his Majeſty, by which He was
" bound to make no ſuch Treaty: Nor in Truth did
" They believe that He had entered into any ſuch
" Treaty, for if it were only ſuch as They themſelves
" ſtated it to be, a defenſive League, it would nei-
" ther engage nor excuſe *France* in giving Aſſiſtance
" to them who had done the Wrong and begun
" the War; and therefore if the King was in Truth
" bound to aſſiſt them, it muſt be from ſome offenſive
" not defenſive Clauſe."

THE Ambaſſadours replied, " that their Maſter
" concluded that their King was the Aggreſſor, and
" then the defenſive Article did oblige him;" and
They acknowledged there was no other. It was an-
ſwered, " that the King had aſſumed a Power to
" judge upon a Matter of Fact of which He had
" taken no Examination; and that it was a Partiality
" not agreeable to the Office of a Judge, to believe
" what the *Dutch* ſaid, and not to believe what the
" King ſaid, who had clearly publiſhed the true Hiſ-
" tory of the Fact; and that it was notorious and
" not poſſible to be denied, that They had refuſed
" to deliver *Poleroone* according to their Treaty, and
" that *De Ruyter* had begun the War in *Guinea* be-
" fore one of their Ships had been ſeized on by the
" King." To which They replied, " that their Maſ-
" ter thought otherwiſe and did look upon the King
" as Aggreſſor." When They were urged with the
Violation of the former Obligation by entering into
the latter, all the Anſwer They gave was, " that
" They knew Nothing of it, and that They had
" Commiſſion only to treat upon the preſent State of
" Affairs, and not upon what had paſſed long be-
" fore:" And ſo, according to the Character They
underwent near fourteen hundred Years ſince, *Galli
ridentes fidem fregerunt.*

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THE Counſellors of the King told them, "that "their Maſter had very well conſidered the Diſad- "vantage He muſt undergo by the Acceſs of ſo "powerful a Friend, and of whoſe Friendſhip He "had thought himſelf poſſeſſed, to the Part of his "Enemies, who were too inſolent already; and "therefore to prevent that Diſadvantage, He had "and would do any Thing that would conſiſt with "the Dignity of a King: But that He muſt be "laughed at and deſpiſed by all the World, if He "ſhould conſent to make him the Arbitrator of the "Differences, who had already declared himſelf to be "a Party, and *that He is reſolved to make War againſt "him on the Behalf of his Enemy*; and that ſuch Me- "naces would make no Impreſſion in the laſt Article "of Danger that could befall the King." The Am- baſſadours took that Expreſſion of Menaces very heavily, as if it were a Tax upon their Manners, and ſaid "They had never uſed Words that could "imply a Menace." To which it was replied, "that "there was no Purpoſe to make any Reflection upon "their Perſons, who had always carried themſelves "with great Reſpect to the King, and who his Ma- "jeſty believed did in their own particular Affection "wiſh him better than They did the *Dutch:* How- "ever the declaring, *that if the King did not do this "or that, the* French *King would make War upon him*, "could in no Language be looked upon to have "any other Signification than of a Menace and "Threat." This raiſed a little Warmth on Both Sides, which made the Conferences break off at that Time.

THE Ambaſſadours prepared to be gone; and the King diſcerned clearly that there was no Way to divert the *French* from an entire Conjunction with the *Dutch:* And thereupon He aſſembled his ſecret Council together again, to conſult what ſhould be the final Anſwer his Majeſty ſhould give to the *French* Ambaſſadours at parting. There was no Perſon pre-

ſent, who had not a deep Apprehenſion of the extreme Damage and Danger that muſt fall upon the King's Affairs, if in this Conjuncture *France* ſhould declare a War againſt *England*. (290)

The Proſpect of the King's Affairs at this Time.

IT was well known, that the Duke of *Beaufort* was forthwith to be at *Breſt*, where all the *French* King's Ships were to aſſemble at their Rendezvous by *Chriſtmas*; that the *French* King had already ſent to the Biſhop of *Munſter* to diſſuade him from proſecuting his Enterpriſe againſt *Holland*, and that probably He might unite *Denmark* again to the *Dutch*, and probably even allay thoſe warm Inclinations which the *Swede* had for the King. It was well known, that the *French* King had in the laſt Diſtractions in *Holland* contributed very much to the compoſing them, and to the Support of the Power and Credit of *De Wit*, who was the Soul of the War, and that He had ſent him one hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*, without which They would have hardly been able to have ſet out their laſt Fleet under *De Ruyter*. And above all this, his giving Life to ſome domeſtick Rebellion in *England* and in *Ireland*, by ſending Money to diſcontented Perſons, was apprehended: For as there were enough diſcontented and deſperate Perſons in the latter, who wanted only Arms and Money to declare for any Prince who would take them into his Protection; ſo it was well known that there was a general Combination amongſt thoſe of the late Army to have riſen, if the Duke of *York* had been defeated at Sea, and that it was that Victory that diſappointed that intended Inſurrection. That there had been a later Deſign, in the very Height of this diſmal Sickneſs and Contagion, in *London* (whither the Fanatick Party had repaired from all the Quarters of the Kingdom, and had appointed a Day upon which the General ſhould be aſſaſſinated, which ſome Soldiers of his own Regiment had undertaken, and then the whole Rendezvous was to be in ſeveral Streets at the ſame Time); which in ſo formidable a Con-

Conjuncture might have ſucceeded to a great Degree, if by God's Bleſſing it had not been diſcovered two Days before to the General, who cauſed ſome of the chief Conſpirators to be apprehended, who ſuffered afterwards by the Hand of Juſtice. And yet the Chief amongſt them, Colonel *Danvers*, who in Spite of all the Vigilance that could be uſed had been always ſearched for and always concealed from the Time of the King's Return, being at this Time apprehended and brought before the General, and by him ſent with a Lieutenant and a Guard of Soldiers to the *Tower*, was reſcued in *Cheapſide*, and ſo eſcaped, all the Citizens looking on without aiding the Officer.

THIS was the Proſpect that the King had of his Condition and Affairs in this Conſultation: And therefore if any Thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this Storm, it would no Doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding Breach of Faith in entering into that Treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his Engagement by it ſo long after the War was entered into (which if He had not done the King could never have looked upon him as a fit Mediator), and the Impoſſibility of depending upon any Thing that ſhould be promiſed for the future, were convincing Arguments againſt any ſuch Reference of the Conditions to his Determination as was propoſed, and was the only Expedient that was propoſed towards the making a Peace. It was well known that the chief Counſels of *France*, ſince *Monſieur Colbert* entered upon the Miniſtry, had been directed towards the Advancement of Manufactures at Home, by which They might have leſs Need of Commerce with their Neighbours; and for the erecting a Trade abroad, with which They had been very little acquainted in former Times. And it was juſtly to be feared, that where the Judgment was left to them, They would imitate the infamous *Roman* Precedent,

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of adjudging that to themſelves that was in Diffe- (291)
rence between their Neighbours and left to their Deciſion: And ſo both *Poleroone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *Cabo Corſo* for the *Weſt*, muſt be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an *Eaſt-India* Company and a *Weſt-India* Company, before They had any viſible Foundation for a Trade in either, to which Both theſe Places might carry with them great Conveniences.

A final Anſwer given to the French *Ambaſſadours.*

THESE Conſiderations being ſeriouſly reflected upon, with a little generous Indignation to find himſelf thus treated, prevailed with the King to lay aſide all Thoughts of farther complying with *France*, and to reſolve to diſmiſs the Ambaſſadours without any other Anſwer, than what ſhould contain Complaints "of the *French* King's Want of Kindneſs, which his "Majeſty had cultivated by all the Offices He could "perform ſince his Reſtoration, which did not re-"ceive an equal Return, by the preferring the Friend-"ſhip of the *Dutch* before that of his Majeſty." And with this Anſwer the Ambaſſadours were diſmiſſed, with liberal Preſents and all gracious Demonſtrations of Eſteem of their Perſons, and ſo returned for *France*, where They always gave juſt Teſtimony of the Civilities and fair Treatment They had received.

They leave the Kingdom.

BUT this Reſolution increaſed the King's Appetite to Peace, and made him think of all other Expedients that might contribute to it; and none ſeemed ſo hopeful, as that *France* and *Holland* might be divided: And He would have been very willing to have agreed with *Holland* upon any reaſonable Conditions, that He might continue the War with *France*, which there were many reaſonable Inducements to hope might be brought to paſs. It was notorious, that Preparations had been made for two or three Years paſt by *France* at a very great Expenſe upon the Borders, that They might be ready to enter into

A Proſpect of dividing France *and* Holland.

Flanders

Flanders as ſoon as News ſhould arrive of the King of *Spain's* Death; and that War would immediately fall out as ſoon as that King's Deceaſe ſhould be known, which from his Age and Infirmities muſt be expected every Day: And in that Caſe the Friendſhip could not continue long with *Holland*, which thought that *France* was already too near a Neighbour to them, to be willing that They ſhould be nearer by a Conqueſt of *Flanders*, which with its own Force could not make an equal Reſiſtance. It was likewiſe as notorious that all the other Provinces, *Holland* only excepted, did impatiently deſire the Peace; and *Holland* had only been reſtrained from the ſame Impatience by the ſole Credit and Authority of *De Wit*, and by his perſuading them, "that "*France* would aſſiſt them with Men, Money and "Ships, and likewiſe declare a War againſt *England*, "which" (as hath been ſaid before) "would pro-"duce a Peace upon ſuch Conditions as would make "it happy to them:" And that though it was true that it had indeed aſſiſted them with ſome Money, it was not conſiderable to their vaſt Expenſes, nor in Truth of Importance in Compariſon of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed Nothing. And it was evident that *Holland* itſelf was jealous of thoſe Proceedings, and even *De Wit* in his private Diſcourſes to other Miniſters ſeemed to be much unſatisfied with their Breach of Faith, and not to be without Apprehenſion that They would in the End enter into a ſtricter Alliance with *England*, and leave *Holland* as a Prey to Both.

THE *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who always deſired that the Peace might be eſtabliſhed between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, and that They would Both join with *Spain* in a defenſive League, into which *Denmark* would be glad to enter, and *Sweden* might be drawn
(292) in upon the ſame Conditions which They now received from *France*, towards which He had often deſired the King to interpoſe, was now very glad that the

the *French* Ambaſſadours had taken their Leaves and were gone; and He pretended to have many Aſſurances from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour at the *Hague*, that the *Dutch* had thoſe Inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that *De Wit* would be glad to "confer in private with any Man truſted by the "King, if He might be ſure that it ſhould not be "communicated to *France*." Upon all theſe Probabilities, and the Certainty that no Good could be expected from *France*, his Majeſty reſolved to embrace all Opportunities to agree with *Holland*; towards which He had a ſecret Intelligence, to which He gave more Credit than to all the reſt, which ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

THERE were ſo many great Tranſactions during the King's Reſidence in *Oxford*, beſides what was done in the Parliament and what related to the Diſmiſſion of the *French* Ambaſſadours, ſo many Counſels which were executed, and ſo many ſecret Deſigns only initiated then and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a Recollection of the Occurrences of all that Time. And if ſome Things are mentioned which ſeem too light and of too ſmall Importance to have a Place in this Relation, they will be found at laſt to be the Riſe and principal Ingredient to ſome Counſel and Reſolution, which proved afterwards of Conſequence enough as well to the Publick as to the Intereſt of particular Perſons.

An Attempt to break the Friendſhip between the Chancellor and Treaſurer.

THE firſt Attempt that was made was to make a Breach between the Chancellor and Treaſurer, who had been long faſt Friends, and were believed to have moſt Credit with the King; and They who loved neither of them thought the moſt likely Way to hurt them was to make them love one another leſs. Several Attempts had been made upon the Chancellor to that Purpoſe without Effect: He knew the other too well to be ſhaken in the Eſteem He had

had of his Friendſhip, and the Knowledge He had of his Virtue.

BUT there was now an Accident fell out, that gave them an Opportunity to ſuggeſt to the Treaſurer, "that the Chancellor had failed in his Friendſhip to-"wards him." The Occaſion was upon the Vacancy of an Office near the Queen by the Death of Mr. *Mountague*, Maſter of the Horſe to her Majeſty, who had been killed before *Bergen*: And the News arriving with the Duke at *York*, before it was known at *Saliſbury* to the King, the Duke and his Wife writ to the King and to the Queen "to confer that Place "upon his younger Brother," who was now become both the eldeſt and the only Son to his Father, the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*; and the Gentleman himſelf, on whoſe Behalf the Letters were writ, came himſelf by Poſt with them within two or three Hours after the News was brought to *Saliſbury*, and He brought likewiſe a Letter from the Dutcheſs to the Chancellor, "to aſſiſt the Gentleman all He could in "his Pretence," He at the ſame Time enjoying the ſame Office under the Dutcheſs that his Brother had under the Queen. *The Occaſion of it.*

THE Chancellor had never uſed to interpoſe in Matters of that Nature, nor had He any Acquaintance with this Gentleman who was now recommended: Yet He could not refuſe to wait upon the Queen and ſhew her the Letter He had received, without any Intention to appear farther in it. But when He waited upon the Queen, who had received her Letter before, her Majeſty ſeemed graciouſly diſpoſed to gratify the Gentleman if the King approved it, but ſaid "that She would make no Choice her-"ſelf of any Servant without knowing firſt his Ma-"jeſty's Pleaſure:" And She added, "that She had "been informed, *that the Lord* Mountague *was very* [293] "*angry with his Son that was unfortunately ſlain, for* "*having taken that Charge in her Family, and that He* "*never allowed him any Thing towards his Support*;

"and

" and if all other Obſtructions were out of the Way, " She would not receive him except She were firſt aſ- " ſured that his Father would like and deſire it." Her Majeſty vouchſafed to wiſh the Chancellor " to ſpeak " with the King, and as dexterouſly as He could to " diſpoſe him to recommend Mr. *Mountague* to her, " as juſt and reaſonable ſince his Brother had loſt his " Life in his Service."

THIS Command of her Majeſty obliged the Chancellor to wait upon the King, and to ſhew him the Letter He had received from the Dutcheſs; and at the ſame Time the King gave him that which He had from the Duke, in which his Highneſs deſired him, " that " if that Place was not preſently conferred upon Mr. " *Mountague*, his Majeſty would not diſpoſe of it till " He waited upon him." The Chancellor told him, " that the Queen gave no Anſwer, but referred it en- " tirely to his Majeſty:" And He ſaid, " He would " never recommend any Perſon to her but ſuch a one " as would be very grateful to her." He ſaid, " it " would ſeem very hard to deny one Brother to ſuc- " ceed another who was killed in his Service." He confeſſed, " that the Lord *Crofts* had moved him on " the Behalf of Mr. *Robert Spencer*, of whom He had a " good Opinion: But that He had anſwered him, *that* " *He would not do any Thing in it till He ſaw his Brother*; " which Reſolution He would keep." To which the Chancellor made no Reply, having in his one private Inclinations and Affection much more Kindneſs for Mr. *Spencer*, of whoſe Pretence He had never received the leaſt Intimation before, than for the other, with whom He had ſpoken very few Words in his Life. He told Mr. *Mountague* no more but that which the King himſelf had told him, " *that He would not diſpoſe* " *of the Place till the Duke ſhould arrive*;" only He added what the Queen had ſaid of his Father, and adviſed him to think of the Way to remove that Obſtruction. Whereupon He reſolved to make a Journey to his Father, which He knew He might well do before the King and his Brother could meet.

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THE ſame Night Mr. *Spencer* came to the Chancellor, and brought him a Letter from the Treaſurer (whoſe Nephew He was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the Town the Day before to a Houſe of his own twenty Miles diſtant) to recommend his Nephew to the Queen, to whom and to the King He had likewiſe Letters. The Chancellor gave him an Account of all that had paſſed, ſhewed him the Letter that He had received from the Dutcheſs, and told him what the Queen and the King had ſaid, and "that it "was not poſſible for him to do him Service, for "which He was very ſorry;" but adviſed him "to "deliver Both his Letters, and to attend their Ma-"jeſties, who He was confident had yet taken no Re-"ſolution:" With all which He was very well ſatisfied, and confeſſed "He could not expect that "He ſhould appear for him." When He delivered his Letters to Both their Majeſties, He received ſo gracious an Anſwer from Both, that He might reaſonably expect his Suit to be granted, though the King told him, "He would not diſpoſe of the Place till He "ſpake with his Brother." And there is no Doubt but if the Lord Treaſurer had been in the Town when the News firſt came to the King of Mr. *Mountague's* Death, which was a whole Day before the Arrival of the Duke's Letter, the King or Queen would not have denied him his Requeſt.

WITHIN a ſhort Time after Mr. *Spencer* had left him, the Lord *Crofts*, who had married his Siſter, and (294) was governed by the Lord *Arlington*, came to the Chancellor, and deſired him "to take Care, out of "his Friendſhip with the Treaſurer, that the King "might not refuſe to gratify him in this Suit for his "Nephew, which was the firſt He had ever made, "and if He ſhould be denied it would exceedingly "trouble him. That when He ſpake to the King of "it as ſoon as the News came, and told him, *He was* "*ſure that the Treaſurer would be a Suitor to him for his* "*Nephew*, his Majeſty did promiſe him that He ſhould "have

" have it; and that Both their Majeſties had as good " as ſaid the ſame now to *Robert Spencer:* And there- " fore if He would now uſe his Credit, the Thing " might be diſpatched preſently and without farther " Delay."

THE Chancellor aſked him, " whether Mr. *Spencer* " had informed him of all that had paſſed between " them two:" He ſaid, " Yes; and that He had done " all that the Dutcheſs had deſired him; in ſpeaking " both to the King and Queen, and that his Friend- " ſhip to the Lord Treaſurer ſhould prevail with him " to uſe all his Endeavours for his Nephew." Where- upon the Chancellor ſhewed the Dutcheſs's Letter, and repeated to him again all that He had formerly ſaid to Mr. *Spencer*, and aſked him, " what the Duke and his " Wife muſt think of him, if inſtead of purſuing what " They deſired, He ſhould ſolicit quite contrary to it." He ſaid, " that He might tell them that He was en- " gaged by the Lord Treaſurer before He received " their Letter;" and then talked paſſionately and in- diſcreetly " of the Affront the Treaſurer would think " He received if this were denied him, and that all the " World would ſay, that He might have compaſſed " it if He had not failed in his Friendſhip." To which He made no other Anſwer, than " that the doing ſo " baſe a Thing as He deſired would more probably " deſtroy that Friendſhip with a Man ſo punctual in " Honour and Juſtice as the Treaſurer was, than any " Thing that He had done or ſhould leave undone;" and adviſed him " not to make the Buſineſs worſe by " his Activity, and that if He had the King's and " Queen's Promiſe, as He pretended, He might very " well acquieſce till the Duke came."

HOWEVER his very great Indiſcretion and Preſump- tion made the Thing much worſe, by delivering Meſ- ſages from the King to the Queen and from her Ma- jeſty to the King that They Both diſavowed, and by his uſual Diſcourſes, " that it ſhould now appear who " had the moſt Credit with the King, the Duke or the " Trea-

"Treaſurer, and how much the King would ſuffer if "He diſobliged the Treaſurer;" all which was quickly tranſmitted by the Intelligence that was every Day ſent to *York*. On the other Hand He ſtill adviſed the Treaſurer "to continue his Importunity to the King "and Queen" (a Thing the moſt contrary to his Nature), and aſſured him, "that it would be grateful to "them and was expected by them." Whereupon as ſoon as the Treaſurer came to the Court, which was not till the King came to *Oxford*, He went to Both their Majeſties, and renewed his Suit to them with more Warmth and Concernment than was cuſtomary to him, and received ſuch an Anſwer from Both as very well ſatisfied him: And without Doubt the King intended to perſuade his Brother to deſiſt from preſſing him farther on the Behalf of the other, for whom He had no Kindneſs.

BUT the Duke, who arrived by Poſt the very next Day, came in another Temper than was expected. The Intelligence from *Saliſbury* of the Conteſt that was for that Place; and the inſolent Behaviour and Expreſſions uſed by the Lord *Crofts*, had exceedingly moved him, and He looked upon the Treaſurer as engaged to try who had the greateſt Power, and as in Oppoſition to him: So that the ſame Night that He came to Town, when the King and He were in private, He complained of it with much Warmth; and He beſought his Majeſty importunately "that He would declare, that the
(295) "World might know who had moſt Intereſt in his "Favour, He or the Treaſurer." The King was ſo much put out of the Method He intended to uſe in this Affair, knowing that the Expreſſions the Duke had mentioned had been too often uſed by the Lord *Crofts*, for which He had often reprehended him, that He preſently applied that Remedy which He thought moſt proper, and after Conference with the Queen ſigned the Warrant for admitting Mr. *Mountague* into the Office, who was ſworn the next Morning: So that the firſt News the Treaſurer heard, after Both their Majeſties

jeſties had the Day before ſaid all to him that He could deſire, was, that the Place was already full; which He received with more Commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a deſigned, contrived Affront to expoſe him to Contempt. "Why would "not the King, if He had changed his Mind after He "left him, firſt ſend him Word of it, that He might "have known his Purpoſe?"

All this Storm fell preſently upon the Chancellor: The Lord *Crofts* aſſured him, "that it had been done "at *Saliſbury* if He had not hindered it; that He had "been with the Duke before He ſpake with the King, "and given him Advice what Tune He ſhould ſpeak "in, which was uſed accordingly and had prevailed; "and that when He came into the Duke's Chamber "to kiſs his Hand, his Highneſs turned away and "would not ſpeak to him, which muſt proceed from "the Influence of the Chancellor." Whereas in Truth the Chancellor had only ſeen the Duke in publick, and ſaid no more to him than what He ſaid in publick, thinking it no good Manners to trouble him with any private Diſcourſe, when He was ſo weary of his Journey; nor did He know that any Thing was done in that Affair till the Day after it was done, and after it was known to the Treaſurer. Upon the whole Matter, how unwilling ſoever He was to believe, that He could be ſo groſsly faulty to him, when He ſaw the Chancellor next his Countenance was not the ſame it uſed to be; which the other taking Notice of aſked him, according to his uſual Familiarity, "what the "Matter was," but received ſuch an Anſwer as made him diſcern that there was Somewhat amiſs: And ſo He ſaid no more. The other being the ſame Day with the King, the Duke came into the Room, and in his Looks manifeſted a Diſpleaſure towards the Treaſurer, which confirmed the former Jealouſy of the Chancellor; which was improved by the Ladies, who did not like their Lodging, and thought it proceeded from Want of Friendſhip in him, who had the Power over

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the Univerſity, and might have aſſigned what Lodgings He pleaſed to the Treaſurer; and He had aſſigned this, as the beſt Houſe in the Town for ſo great a Family, and which their own Servant had deſired as the beſt in the Town, as it was.

WHEN the Chancellor diſcovered the Ground of this Alteration, He grew out of Humour too, and thought himſelf unworthily ſuſpected: And ſo for two or three Days the two Friends came not together. And in that Time the Chancellor had enough to do to inform the Duke, who was not only very much offended with the Treaſurer, but thought that He had been, out of his Friendſhip to the Treaſurer, more remiſs than He ought to have been in a Buſineſs ſo earneſtly recommended by him and his Wife; and the Intelligence from *Saliſbury* had made Reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his Royal Highneſs willingly received Information of all that had paſſed, and diſcerned the foul Carriage of others as well as of the Lord *Crofts*; and was pleaſed to confeſs, "that He "had done all He ought to do, and that He had been "miſinformed of the Lord Treaſurer's Part in that "Affair, which had made him think amiſs of him, (296)"which He would acknowledge to him next Time He "ſaw him."

AFTER this the Chancellor, having a more clear View, upon Conference with the King and the Duke, of this pernicious Deſign, which in ſome Degree had compaſſed its End if there grew a Strangeneſs between the Treaſurer and him, went to him: And They being together without any others, He told him, "it ſhould "not be in his Power to break Friendſhip with him to "gratify the Humour of other People, without letting "him know what the Matter was," which He conjured him to impart to him; aſſuring him, "that He would "find that Nothing was more impoſſible than that He "could commit a Fault towards him, and that They "who wiſhed well to neither of them had contrived "this Separation as the beſt Way to hurt them Both."

And when He ſaw that He did not yet open himſelf, He told him, "that He had heard that He had re-"ceived ſome Umbrage in the Pretence of his Ne-"phew, and therefore He would give him an Account "of all that He knew of it," which He did exactly; and concluded with a Proteſtation, "that He had not "known what had been done at *Oxford* till after He "came from him, when He obſerved the Change of "his Countenance towards him, of the Cauſe of which "He could not then make any Conjecture."

THE Treaſurer thereupon with his uſual Freedom told him "that if his Part had been no other than as "He related, He thought himſelf obliged to give him "a Narration of all He had done, and of the Grounds "and Motives He had to think that He had failed in "his Friendſhip." And thereupon He mentioned "the Kindneſs and Eſteem He had for his Nephew, "whom He thought in all Reſpects of Birth and "Breeding at leaſt as worthy of that Relation as the "Gentleman who was poſſeſſed of it; and yet that "ſince He was not upon the Place, He had no Mind "to engage himſelf in the Suit: And that when his "Nephew had given him an Account what the Chan-"cellor had ſaid to him," which He did with great Ingenuity, "and He knew that the Duke of *York* ap-"peared in it for another, He reſolved to proſecute "it no farther; until the Lord *Crofts* with all Confi-"dence aſſured him, *that the King had promiſed him to* "*confer the Place upon* Robert Spencer, *and that Both* "*their Majeſties expected that He ſhould make it his Suit,* "*to the End that They might thereby decline the Importu-*"*nity that He expected from his Brother.*" He told him of ſome Expreſſions He had uſed to the King in that Affair, which the King himſelf had reported; and "that when He took his Leave of the Queen to go to "*Oxford*" (which was the next Day after Mr. *Mountague* came from *York*), "He diſſuaded her Majeſty from "receiving Mr. *Spencer*, alleging ſome Reaſons a-"gainſt it, which a Lady who was near overheard,

"and

"and informed the Perſon of it who acquainted him "with it: All which, with the King's and Queen's "ſo ample Promiſes to him ſo few Hours before the "conferring the Place upon another, and the Duke of "*York's* Manner of receiving him after He had been "ſhut up with him, as He was informed, might very "well excuſe him for thinking He had ſome Share in "the Affront He had undergone."

To which the other replied, "that if indeed He did "believe all that He had been told, He could not but "think ſo; but," He ſaid, "He thought He had "known him better than to give Credit to ſuch Re-"ports, which muſt make him a Fool and a Knave: "That for the Words He ſhould have uſed to the "King or the Queen, there had Nothing paſſed like "it to either of them, but that they were purely de-"viſed out of Malice; which ſhould be manifeſt unto "him, for He would not ſpeak a Word of it to the "King till They were Both with him together, and (297) "then He would aſk before him what his Carriage had "been, and by his Majeſty's ſudden Anſwer He might "judge of the Report." He told him then, "how "much He had ſuffered with the Duke, and what ex-"cellent Stories had been made to his Royal Highneſs "of Both of them, and of the good Part the Lord "*Crofts* had acted, of which He was not without ſome "Evidence." After this *Eclairciſſement*, of the Sincerity whereof every Day adminiſtered new Teſtimony, They Both returned to their mutual Confidence in each other: And They who had contrived this former Device entered into a new Confederacy, how They might firſt remove the Treaſurer, which would facilitate the pulling the Chancellor down; of which anon.

The Duke conſults the Chancellor about making two Suits to the King.

WITHIN a ſhort Time after the Duke returned out of *Yorkſhire*, his Highneſs told the Chancellor in Confidence, "that He had two Suits which He intended "to make to the King, and with which He firſt ac-"quainted him that He might have his Aſſiſtance in "the obtaining them. The firſt was, in which He

" and his Wife were equally engaged, to prevail with " the King to make Sir *George Savile* a Viſcount." He ſaid, " He knew well the Reſolution the King had " taken, to which He had contributed his Advice, to " make no more Lords: But that He hoped in this " particular Caſe his Majeſty would upon his Deſire " diſpenſe with a general Rule. That Sir *George* had " one of the beſt Fortunes of any Man in *England*, and " lived the moſt like a great Man; that He had been " very civil to him and his Wife in the *North*, and " treated them at his Houſe in a very ſplendid Man- " ner; and that He was engaged to prevail with the " King in this Point, or to confeſs He had no Power, " which He hoped He ſhould not be without in this " Matter;" and aſked his Opinion.

THE Chancellor in his uſual Freedom, which He always took when He was to deliver his Advice to the King or Duke, ſaid " that He could not adviſe his " Highneſs to move the King in it; for beſides that He " knew the King's poſitive Determination, the Departure " from which might be of ill Conſequence, Sir *George* " *Savile* was a Man of a very ill Reputation amongſt " Men of Piety and Religion, and was looked upon " as void of all Senſe of Religion, even to the doubt- " ing if not denying that there is a God, and that He " was not reſerved in any Company to publiſh his " Opinions: Which made him believe that it would " neither be for his Highneſs's Honour to propoſe it, " nor for the King's to grant it, in a Time when all " Licenſe in Diſcourſe and in Actions was ſpread over " the Kingdom, to the Heart-breaking of very many " good Men, who had terrible Apprehenſions of the " Conſequence of it." The Duke was not at all pleaſed with his Diſcourſe, and ſaid, " He was re- " ſolved to uſe all his Credit with the King to compaſs " it, and that He hoped that whatever He thought " He would not oppoſe it."

THE other Particular was, " that He would move the " King to make Mr. *Coventry* his Secretary a Privy " Coun-

"Counſellor," and aſked him "what He thought of "that." To which He anſwered, "that his Opinion "in that Point would pleaſe him no better than in the "former. That He did not think it fit to be aſked: "And if the King his Brother were inclined to be jea-"lous of him, as ſome had endeavoured to perſuade "him, ſuch an Inſtance as this would very much con-"firm it; for never any Prince of *Wales* had a Servant "of the higheſt Degree about him called to the Coun-"cil, till his Father called the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who "was the Prince's Governour, to the Board, which was "not till upon the Approach of the Troubles He diſ-"cerned that He ſhould employ him in another
(298) "Charge. That the Members of that Board had been "always thoſe great Officers of State, and other Offi-"cers, who in Reſpect of the Places They held had a "Title to ſit there, and of ſuch few others who, hav-"ing great Titles and Fortunes and Intereſt in the "Kingdom, were an Ornament to the Table. That "there were at preſent too many already, and the "Number leſſened the Dignity of the Relation: That "his Highneſs had already brought the Lord *Berkley* "thither, who had no Manner of Title to be there but "his Dependence upon him; and now to bring in his "Secretary, for no other Reaſon but for being his Se-"cretary, might be thought an Encroachment, and "be miſinterpreted by the King." He added, "that "his wrangling, litigious Nature would give the Board "much Trouble; and that He knew him to be ſo "much his particular Enemy, that He would watch "all the Opportunities to do him all poſſible ill Offices "to the King and to his Royal Highneſs."

THE Duke replied only to the laſt, and ſaid, "He "perceived Somebody had done *Will. Coventry* ill Of-"fices, which He knew to be unjuſt and falſe: And "that He could aſſure him upon his own Knowledge, "that He had a great Reſpect for him, and deſired his "Favour; and that He would paſs his Word for him, "that He would never do any Thing to diſſerve him,

"which if He ſhould do He ſhould for ever loſe his "Favour, which He knew well." And no Doubt the Duke did believe all He ſaid, for He had a perfect Kindneſs for the Chancellor; and when He did not comply with what He wiſhed, He knew that it was out of the Integrity of his Judgment, and his ſtrict Duty to the King and himſelf, and that He had never flattered or diſſembled with either of them. And Mr. *Coventry* had Skill enough to perſuade him to believe what He deſired ſhould be true, though there were in the View of all Men frequent Inſtances of the contrary, and of the Abſence of all Ingenuity and Sincerity in his Actions.

The Duke moves the King to make Sir George Savile *a Viſcount.*

WITHIN very few Days after this Conference, and when the Dutcheſs had made new Inſtance with her Father in the Caſe of Sir *George Savile*, and with more Importunity than the Duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that He ſhould not be more forward to comply with the Duke's Deſires (but the Chancellor, who always with the Reſpect that was due to her Quality preſerved the Dignity of a Father very entire, would give no other Anſwer than He had done to the Duke, and adviſed her to diſſuade him from making the Requeſt to the King); his Highneſs one Day deſired the King that He would retire into his Cloſet, and call the Chancellor to him: And when They three were together in the Room, after a ſhort Diſcourſe of Letters which He had received from the Earl of *Sandwich*, which there will be Occaſion anon to mention at large, the Duke told the King, "He "had an humble Suit to his Majeſty;" and then ſpake much of the great Intereſt that Sir *George Savile* had in the Northern Parts, of the Greatneſs of his Eſtate, and his orderly and ſplendid Way of Living, and concluded with his Deſire "that his Majeſty would make "him an *Engliſh* Viſcount." Upon which the King preſently put him in Mind "of the Reſolution He had "formerly made in that Room, and He thought upon "his own Motion, but He was ſure it had been with "his Concurrence and Approbation."

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THE Duke replied, "that He remembered it very "well, and thought He ſhould do well ſtill in the "general to obſerve it: Yet it was in thoſe Caſes al- "ways ſuppoſed, that an extraordinary Caſe might "fall out, that might produce an Exception; and He "did moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that He "would upon his very earneſt Interpoſition, from "which Nobody could make a Precedent, diſpenſe "with the Rule." He did confeſs, "that He was ſo "confident of his Majeſty's Favour, that He had
(299) "given Sir *George Savile* Cauſe to believe that He "would prevail in that Suit; which if He ſhould not "do, He muſt be thought either not to have intended "what He promiſed, or to have no Credit with his "Majeſty, neither of which would be for his Honour."

THE King replied roundly, and with more Preſence of Mind than He had always about him, "that it "was abſolutely neceſſary to be very preciſe in the "Obſervation of the Rule, which if He ſhould once "break, a World of Inconveniences would break in "upon him, which He could not defend himſelf "againſt." He named two or three Perſons who were very ſolicitous for Honours, and had ſeveral Pretences to it; and his Majeſty had only been able to reſiſt and evade their Importunity, by objecting this declared Reſolution to them. The plain Truth is; He had made ſome Promiſe (a Weakneſs He was too often liable to) to thoſe Perſons or to their Friends, "that when He ſhould make any new Creations They "ſhould be ſure to be in the Number:" Nor did He apprehend any Inconvenience from redeeming himſelf from the preſent Importunity, which was ſtill grievous to him, ſince He had reſolved to make no new Creation. And this was the true Reaſon that made him now ſo inexorable to his Brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any Thing elſe in ſo unlucky a Seaſon, not without ſome Apprehenſion, from the King's quicker Way of Diſcourſe, that He had been prepared for it by the Chancellor, who though preſent had

Which the King will not conſent to.

had not ſpoke one Word in the Debate, nor indeed ever informed the King of the Conference his Highneſs had formerly held with him upon that Subject, nor ever ſpoken to him concerning it.

HOWEVER in this Perplexity as the Duke thought it neceſſary to inform Mr. *Coventry*, who had principally advanced this Pretence, all that had paſſed before the King, that his Nephew (for ſo Sir *George Savile* was) might ſee He could make no farther Progreſs in it; ſo in the Paſſion He unwarily told him all that had paſſed in the former Conference with the Chancellor, which He took Care ſhould not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the Duke, to ſhew how willing He was to oblige the Family, immediately received a younger Brother of Sir *George Savile*, whom He had only ſeen in the *North*, to wait upon him in his Bedchamber; who being a young Man of Wit, and incredible Confidence and Preſumption, omitted no Occaſion to vent his Malice againſt the Chancellor, with a Licenſe that in former Times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a Perſon of much inferiour Quality in the State.

Mr. William Coventry *admitted of the Privy Council and the private Committee.*

WITHIN a ſhort Time after, the King told the Chancellor, "that his Brother had deſired him that "his Secretary Mr. *Coventry* might be admitted of the "Privy Council, which He could not deny, but had "promiſed it ſhould be done at the next Meeting;" which was accordingly done, and He knighted: And quickly after, upon the like Deſire of the Duke, He was called to that Committee with which his Majeſty uſed to conſult his moſt ſecret Affairs. And from this Time there was an Alteration in the whole Carriage and Debate of all Manner of Buſineſs: And as the Chancellor had found his own Credit with the King much diminiſhed from the Time of the Lord *Arlington's* being Secretary; ſo a greater Decreaſe of it was now viſible to all Men from the Acceſs of this new Counſellor.

THE

THE Lord *Arlington* had not the Gift of ſpeaking nor of a quick Conception, and ſo rarely contradicted any Thing in Council: His Talent was in private, where He frequently procured, very inconveniently, (300) Changes and Alterations from publick Determinations. But Sir *William Coventry* (between whom and the other there was an entire Conjunction and Combination) was a Man of quick Parts and a ready Speaker, unreſtrained by any Modeſty or Submiſſion to the Age, Experience or Dignity of other Men, equally cenſorious of what had been done before He was a Counſellor, as ſolicitous in Contradiction of whatſoever was propoſed afterwards: Inſomuch as the very firſt Time that He was admitted to the private Committee, the Debate being about providing Money to be paid at a Day approaching to the Biſhop of *Munſter* according to the King's Obligation, He ſaid, "We had Need enough "of Money for our own immediate Occaſions; and "that We ought not to aſſign any to the Advance-"ment of the Affairs of other Men." Whereupon He was informed "of the Treaty the King had en-"tered into, and that the Biſhop was at that Time "upon his March, which was by every Body looked "upon as of great Importance to his Majeſty:" To which He anſwered, "that He had heard Somewhat "of it how ſecretly ſoever it had been carried, and that "He had never liked it from the Beginning, nor "would give his Conſent that any more Money ſhould "be paid towards it;" which the King himſelf looked upon as a rare Impudence.

HIS great Ambition was to be taken Notice of for oppoſing and contradicting whatſoever was propoſed or ſaid by the Chancellor or Treaſurer, towards whom all other Counſellors, how little ſoever They cared for their Perſons, had ever paid Reſpect in Regard of their Offices. He was a declared Enemy to all Lawyers, and to the Law itſelf; and any Thing paſſed under the great Seal of *England* was of no more Authority with him, than if it were the Scroll of a Scrivener.

Where He conſtantly oppoſes the Chancellor and Treaſurer.

Scrivener. He had no Principles in Religion or State, of one Mind this Day and another To-morrow, and always very uneaſy to thoſe who were obliged to conſult with him; whoſe Pride and Inſolence will adminiſter frequent Occaſions of Mention throughout the enſuing Relation.

Succeſs of the Fleet after the Attempt at Bergen.

THE King had not been many Days in *Oxford*, when News arrived that the Earl of *Sandwich* had been engaged in ſome Conflict with the *Dutch* Fleet; of the Particulars whereof there was a general Longing to be advertiſed. The Truth was, that whilſt the Earl rode, after the Buſineſs of *Bergen*, as near that Coaſt as was ſafe, in Expectation of the *Dutch* Fleet, the Winds, which are always tempeſtuous in that Seaſon of the Year, *September*, made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to remove with his whole Fleet to the Coaſt of *Scotland*, where there were Harbours enough for him to ride ſafe; and in this Interval of Time *De Ruyter* was paſſed by towards that of *Norway*. The News of their *Indian* Fleet having been attacked by the *Engliſh* at *Bergen*, and the Letters of ſome of their Officers, which implied as if They were not ſatisfied in the Security of the Port and of the Fidelity of the Governour, produced a wonderful Conſternation in *Holland*; and if They ſhould be deprived of that Wealth, the very Company of the *Eaſt-Indies* would be in Danger of being diſſolved.

THE Fleet was ready to ſet Sail under the Command of *De Ruyter* well fitted and manned: But there were ſtill many Factions amongſt the Captains and other Officers, that might upon any Accidents produce many Miſchiefs; for the better Prevention whereof, the Penſionary *De Wit* was willing to venture his own Perſon, believing himſelf to be as ſecure any where as on Shore, if any Misfortune ſhould befall the Fleet. And ſo He was by a ſpecial Commiſſion made Plenipotentiary, with an ample Allowance for his Table, and a Guard of Halberdiers for the Safety of his Per-(301) ſon, with a good Train of Volunteers: And ſo He

put

put himſelf on Board the Ship of *De Ruyter*, who received Orders from him.

THE Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had received Advertiſements of the *Dutch* Fleet's being paſſed by for *Norway*, took all the Care He could to put himſelf and his Fleet in the Way of their Return. They made a ſhort Stay on the Coaſt of *Norway*, where upon good Conſideration their Ships were diſmiſſed, and loud Clamour raiſed againſt the Hoſtility of the *Engliſh*. And notwithſtanding all the Vigilance the Earl could uſe, the Darkneſs and Length of the Nights ſo favoured them, that He could not engage their whole Fleet as He endeavoured to do: Yet He had the good Fortune in two Encounters to take eight of their great Ships of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships, and about twenty of their other Merchant-Ships, which were all under the Protection of their Fleet, or ought to have been. After which He was by Tempeſt driven to put the Fleet into Security in the *Engliſh* Harbours, it being already the Month of *October*.

Lord Sandwich *not able to come to an Engagement with* De Ruyter.

But takes many of his Ships in their Flight.

IT was a fair Booty, and came very opportunely to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the Navy, and to provide for the ſetting out of the next Fleet at Spring, and was in Truth gotten with very good Conduct, and without any conſiderable Damage: But it being much leſs than was expected (for whatſoever was upon the Seas was looked upon as our own), the News no ſooner arrived at *Oxford*, but Intelligence came with it of many Overſights which had been committed and Opportunities loſt, otherwiſe it had been eaſy to have taken the whole Fleet; and that it might have been purſued farther when it was in View, after thoſe *Eaſt-India* Ships were taken, which were indeed ſurpriſed and boarded at the Break of Day, when They thought themſelves in the Middle of their own Fleet. And it is as true that the Earl did then purſue to engage the Fleet, till They were got ſo near the *French* Shore, that the Wind blowing in to the

the Land, it was by all the Flag-Officers thought absolutely neceſſary to give over the Chace.

Sir W. Coventry's *unjuſt Reflections upon him.*

Sir *William Coventry*, who had never paid a Civility to any worthy Man but as it was a Diſobligation to another whom He cared leſs for, and ſo had only contributed to the Preferment of the Earl of *Sandwich* in the laſt Expedition that He might croſs Prince *Rupert*, received much Intelligence from ſeveral Officers in the Fleet, which He ſcattered abroad to the Prejudice of the Earl, and was willing that it ſhould be believed that He had been too wary in avoiding Danger. But the King and the Duke were very juſt to the Earl, and diſcountenanced all thoſe Reports as Scandals and Calumnies: And the Duke, who had ſeen his Behaviour in the moſt dangerous Action, gave him a loud Teſtimony "of a prudent "and brave Commander, and as forward and bold "in the Face of Danger as the Occaſion required "or Diſcretion permitted." And his Highneſs undertook "that He had in all this Expedition done "what a Man of Honour was obliged to do," and was abundantly ſatisfied (as his Majeſty likewiſe was) with the rich Prizes He had brought Home, which had cauſed equal Lamentation in *Holland*, and almoſt broke the Heart of *De Wit* himſelf. But what Succeſs ſoever the Earl had at Sea, it was his Misfortune to do an unadviſed Action when He came into the Harbour, that leſſened the King's own Eſteem of him, and to a great Degree irreconciled the Duke to him, and gave Opportunity to his Enemies to do him much Prejudice.

An imprudent Action of the Earl of Sandwich *after his Return.*

It was a conſtant and a known Rule in the Admiralty, that of any Ship that is taken from the Enemy Bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the Port and adjudged a lawful Prize. It ſeems that when the Fleet returned to the Harbour, the Flag-Officers petitioned or moved the Earl of *Sandwich*, "in Regard of their having continued all the "Summer upon the Seas with great Fatigue, and (302)

"been

"been engaged in many Actions of Danger, that "He would diſtribute amongſt them ſome Reward "out of the *Indian* Ships;" which He thought reaſonable, and inclined to ſatisfy them, and writ a Letter to the Vice-Chamberlain to inform the King of it, and "that He thought it fit to be done;" to which the Vice-Chamberlain, having ſhewed the Letter to the King, returned his Majeſty's Approbation. But before the Anſwer came to his Hand He had executed the Deſign, and diſtributed as much of the coarſer Goods to the Flag-Officers, as by Eſtimation was valued to be one thouſand Pounds to each Officer, and took to the Value of two thouſands Pounds for himſelf. This ſuddenly made ſuch a Noiſe and Outcry, as if all the *Indian* and other Merchant-Ships had been plundered by the Seamen: And They again cried out as much, that no Care was taken of them, but all given to the Flag-Officers; which the other Captains thought to be an Injury to them.

THE General (who had Nothing like Kindneſs for the Earl of *Sandwich*, whoſe Service He thought had been too much conſidered and recompenſed by the King at his Arrival) had Notice of it before it came to *Oxford*; and according to his univerſal Care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private Animoſity) ſent Orders to all the Port Towns to ſeize upon Goods which were brought in Shallops from the Fleet; and gave Advertiſement to *Oxford* of the extraordinary ill Conſequence of that Action, and "that it would ſpoil the Sale of all that remained of "thoſe Ships, ſince the *Eaſt-India* Company, which "probably would have been the beſt Chapmen, "would not now be forward to buy, ſince ſo much "was diſpoſed of already to other Hands as would "ſpoil their Market." And by this Time the Earl himſelf had given an Account of all that had been done, and the Motives, to the Duke. The King was juſtly diſpleaſed for the Expedition He had uſed, "why had his Approbation been deſired, when He "reſolved

Which the General repreſents in the worſt Light.

The King offended with the Earl.

"resolved to do the Thing before He could receive "an Answer?" yet was glad that He had done so, because He would have been more excusable if He had received it.

The Duke incensed against him.

But the Duke, who had been constantly kind to the Earl, was offended in the highest Degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any Precedent. "This most unjustifiable Action could "proceed only from two Fountains: The one of ex- "treme Vanity and Ambition, to make himself po- "pular amongst the Officers of the Fleet, who ought "not to have been gratified by him at the King's "Charge. When any such Bounty should be sea- "sonable, it was the Duke's Province to have been "the Author, and the Conduit to have conveyed it: "He had himself been an Eyewitness of their Be- "haviour in the greatest Action; and for the Earl "to assume the rewarding them by his own Autho- "rity was to defraud and rob him of his proper "Right and Jurisdiction." And He looked upon his having desired the King's Allowance by the Vice-Chamberlain, as a Trick and an Aggravation; for He ought to have asked his Advice as his superiour Officer: And the poor Vice-Chamberlain underwent his Share in the Reproach, for having presumed to move the King in a Particular that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the Duke. "The other Fountain which might produce this "Presumption might be Avarice," which was the sole Blemish (though it never appeared in any gross Instance) that seemed to cloud many noble Virtues in that Earl, who now became a very pregnant Evidence of the irresistible Strength and Power of Envy; which though it feeds on its own Poison, and is naturally more grievous to the Person who harbours (303) it than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a Subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in Revenge than any Passion the Soul is liable unto.

He

HE was a Gentleman of so excellent a Temper and Behaviour that He could make himself no Enemies; of so many good Qualities, and so easy to live with, that He marvellously reconciled the Minds of all Men to him, who had not Intimacy enough with him to admire his other Parts: Yet was in the general Inclinations of Men upon some Disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the King whilst He as constantly adhered to *Cromwell*, and knew not how early He had entertained Repentance, and with what Hazards and Dangers He had manifested it, did believe the King had been too prodigal in heaping so many Honours upon him. And They who had been familiar with him and of the same Party, and thought They had been as active as He in contributing to the Revolution, considered him with some Anger, as one who had better Luck than They without more Merit, and who had made early Conditions: When in Truth no Man in the Kingdom had been less guilty of that Address; nor did He ever contribute to any Advancement to which He arrived, by the least Intimation or Insinuation that He wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this Blast the Winds rose from all Quarters, Reproaches of all Sorts were cast upon him, and all Affronts contrived for him.

Character of the Earl of Sandwich.

He is very injuriously treated.

THE Earl had conveyed that Part of the Goods which He had assigned to himself in a Shallop to *Lynn*, from whence it could pass by Water to his own House. An Officer in that Port seized upon it by Virtue of the General's Warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which He began to do. But the Servants of the Earl appealed to the other Officers in equal Authority, to whom They brought a Letter with them from the Earl of *Sandwich*, in which He owned all those Goods to be his (amongst which were his Bedding and Furniture for his Cabin, and all his Plate and other Things suitable), and likewise a Note of all the other Goods which might be

be liable to pay Cuſtom; and deſired them "to "ſend one of their Searchers with the Boat to his "Houſe, where He ſhould receive all their Dues, "without being unladen in the Port;" which, beſides the Delay, would be liable to many Inconveniences. The Officer who had firſt arreſted it, and who had Dependence upon a great Man of the Country, who was not unwilling that any Affront ſhould be put upon the Earl, roughly refuſed to ſuffer it to paſs without being firſt unladen; but being overruled by the other Officers, vented his Anger in very unmannerly Language againſt the Earl: Of all which He, being advertiſed by his Servants, ſent a Complaint to the Lords of the Council, and deſired "the "Fellow might be ſent for and puniſhed;" which could not be refuſed, though it proved troubleſome in the Inquiry. For the Officer, who was a Gentleman of a fair Behaviour and good Repute, denied all thoſe Words which carried in them the worſt Interpretation; but juſtified the Action, and produced the General's Warrant, which had unuſual Expreſſions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general Intention.

THE General had quick Advertiſement of it, and writ very paſſionately from *London*, "that an Officer "ſhould be ſent for without having committed any "other Offence than in obeying and executing a "Warrant of his:" And the other great Man, who was of great Importance to the King's Service and in the higheſt Truſt in that Country, writ ſeveral Letters "how impoſſible it would be to carry on the "King's Service in that Country, if that Officer "ſhould be puniſhed for doing that, when He ought "to be puniſhed if He had not done it;" and there-(3) fore deſired, "that He might be repaired by them "who had cauſed him to be ſent for."

SIR *William Coventry* had now full Sea-Room to give Vent to all his Paſſions, and to incenſe the Duke, who was enough offended without ſuch Contributions:

tions: "If this proceeded from Covetouſneſs, it was "not probable that it would be ſatisfied with ſo lit- "tle; and therefore it was probable, that though "the Officers might not have received above the "Value of one thouſand Pounds," which was aſ- ſigned to each, "yet himſelf would not be con- "tented with ſo little as two thouſand; and They "might therefore well conceive that He had taken "much more, which ought to be examined with the "greateſt Strictneſs." There had been Nothing ſaid before of not taking Advantage enough upon the Enemy in all Occaſions which had been offered, and of not purſuing them far enough, which was not now renewed, with Advice "that He might be pre- "ſently ſent for;" though it was known that, as ſoon as He could put the Ships into the Ports to which they were deſigned, He would come to *Oxford*. And there were great underhand Endeavours, that the Houſe of Commons might be inflamed with this Miſcarriage and Miſdemeanor, and preſent it as a Complaint to the Houſe of Peers, as fit to be exa- mined and brought to Judgment before that Tribu- nal. And They, who with all the Malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this Fire, perſuaded the King and the Duke, "that by their ſole Activity "and Intereſt it was prevented for that Time, be- "cauſe the Seſſion was too ſhort, and that all neceſ- "ſary Evidence could not be ſoon produced at *Ox- "ford*; but that, as ſoon as the Plague ſhould ceaſe "to ſuch a Degree in *London* that the Parliament "might aſſemble there, it would be impoſſible to re- "ſtrain the Houſe of Commons from purſuing that "Complaint," of which Nobody thought but them- ſelves and They who were provoked by them.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* had ſo good Intelligence from *Oxford*, that He knew all that was ſaid of him, and began to believe that He had done unadviſedly in adminiſtering Occaſion of ſpeaking ill to thoſe who greedily ſought for it: And as ſoon as his Abſence

from the Fleet could be diſpenſed with, He made Haſte to *Oxford*, and gave ſo full an Account of every Day's Action, from the Time that He went to Sea to the Day of his Return, and of his having never done any Thing of Importance, nor having left any Thing undone, but with and by the Advice of the Council of War, upon the Orders He had received, that both the King and the Duke could not but abſolve him from all the Imputations of Negligence or Inadvertency.

He fully clears himſelf of the Charge of Miſconduct at Sea.

But for the breaking Bulk and the Circumſtances that attended it, They declared They were unſatisfied. And He confeſſed "that He had been much "to blame," and aſked Pardon, and with ſuch Excuſes as He thought might in ſome Degree plead for him. He proteſted, "it ſeemed to him to have had "ſome Neceſſity: That the whole Fleet was in a "general Indiſpoſition, and complained that for all "that Summer Action" (which indeed had been full of Merit) "They had Nothing given to them, not "without ſome muttering that They would have "Somewhat out of thoſe *India* Ships before They "would part with them; inſomuch as He had a real "Apprehenſion that They had a Purpoſe to plunder "them. And He ſhould have feared more, if He "had not complied with the Flag-Officers Importunity: And thereupon He conſented that They "ſhould have each of them the Value of one thouſand Pounds, and which He was moſt confident "the Goods which had been delivered to them did "not exceed." He confeſſed "He had not enough "conſidered the Conſequence, and that They who (309) "had not received any Donative would be more diſpleaſed, than They who had it were ſatisfied with "it; which He acknowledged was the Caſe: That "He was heartily ſorry for permitting any ſuch Thing "to be done, and more for having taken any himſelf, "and humbly aſked Pardon for Both; and deſired "that his own Part, which remained entire, might "be

And makes an ingenuous Acknowledgment of his Imprudence.

"be reſtored to the Ship from whence it had been "taken, which He would cauſe to be done."

A MORE ingenuous Acknowledgment could not be made: And They who could not but obſerve many Perſons every Day excuſed for more enormous Tranſgreſſions, did hope that He, who had ſo few Faults to anſwer for, would have been abſolved for that Treſpaſs. And the King himſelf uſed him very graciouſly, and ſo did the Duke; and He was ſent back to the Fleet, to give Order for the ſending out a Winter-Guard and ordering all other maritime Affairs, and for the ſending up the *Indian* Ships into the River, with great Care that none of the Seamen ſhould go on Shore, where the Plague ſtill raged little if at all leſs than it had done in the Summer: And ſo He himſelf and moſt other Men believed and were glad, that an ill Buſineſs was ſo well compoſed. But Sir *William* did not intend that it ſhould end there. *With which the King is ſatisfied.*

THE preſent Buſineſs, that muſt admit no Interruption, was the raiſing what Money might be to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the Fleet, to pay the Seamen, and to make all Preparations to ſet out the Fleet againſt the Spring, when the *French* Ships would be infallibly ready to join with the *Dutch*; and the Money that was given by the Parliament would not be paid till long after; and the Affairs of the Bankers were in ſuch Diſorder by the Death of Servants, and the Plague having been in ſome of their Houſes, that the uſual Courſe of advancing Moneys by Aſſignations could not be depended upon. The General had written to the Lord Treaſurer, "that He thought that there could not be ſo good "Chapmen for thoſe Ships as the *Eaſt-India* Com- "pany, ſome whereof had been with him to know "the King's Pleaſure; and if Authority were granted "to any Men to treat upon that Affair, They would "ſend for Members enough of their Company, who "were diſperſed in the Country, to be preſent at *The* East-India *Prizes ſold for the Service of the War.*

"a Court, which would authoriſe a Committee to "treat and contract with them:" And He ſaid, "that "He was confident that Half the Money would be "paid upon the making the Bargain." The King was no ſooner advertiſed of this Overture, than He ſent Sir *George Carteret* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* to *London* to confer with the General, and to be adviſed by him, and granted Authority to them three to ſell thoſe two Prizes to thoſe who would give moſt. And They found no Overtures to be ſo advantageous as thoſe which were made by that Company: And yet They made ſo much Uſe of the Advantage of the Time, when all Men of notorious Wealth were out of the Town, that They thought not fit to make any Agreement till They gave the King an Account of the whole Tranſaction, with their Opinions upon Conference with other Men of Buſineſs; and to that Purpoſe the two Perſons who had been ſent to the General returned ſafe to *Oxford*.

The King perſuaded to remove Lord Sandwich *from the Command of the Fleet.*

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great Preſumption in any Body to preſume to interpoſe in the maritime Affairs, which was interpreted to be an Invaſion of the Duke's peculiar Province; and by this Means the Credit of Sir *William Coventry* was ſo abſolute, that the Diſpoſal of all was in his Power. He had perſuaded the Duke, and the Lord *Arlington* who was in firm Conjunction with him had prevailed with the King to believe, "that the Houſe of Commons was ſo in-"cenſed againſt the Lord *Sandwich* for his late Pre-"ſumption, that it would not be poſſible to hinder "them in their next aſſembling" (which was appointed or reſolved to be in *April*, if it pleaſed God to extinguiſh the Sickneſs) "from falling ve-"ry ſeverely upon the Earl of *Sandwich*, which would "be a very great Diſhonour to the King if He "were at that Time in the Command of the Fleet; "and that there was no Way to preſerve him" (for (306)

that

that was their Method when They had a Mind to ruin a Man, to pretend a great Care that He might not be undone) "but by diſmiſſing him from that "Charge, which probably might preſerve him from "being further queſtioned, ſince it would be inter-"preted a Puniſhment inflicted on him by the King "for his Crime, and ſo might ſtop him from being "further proſecuted for the ſame Offence." To which They added, "that it would be neceſſary in "another Reſpect; for that many of the Officers as "well as common Seamen had opened their Mouths "very wide againſt him, eſpecially after it was gene-"rally known that the King and the Duke were "offended with him, and had not been at all reſerved "in charging him with ſeveral Reproaches: And "that if the ſame Command were ſtill continued in "him, it could not be preſumed that thoſe Men "would ever put themſelves under his Command "whom They had ſo much provoked."

THESE Arguments urged by Men who were not known, at leaſt by the King and Duke, to be his Enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in Truth was but for his Conjunction with the other) his Friend, and to wiſh him very well, prevailed upon the Judgments of Both of them; inſomuch as They reſolved to confer with the Chancellor, whom They knew to be much the Earl's Friend. And They Both expreſſed "very much Kindneſs "to and Confidence in the Affection and Integrity "and Courage of the Earl of *Sandwich*, though He "was to be blamed for his late Indiſcretion, and a "Reſolution with their utmoſt Power to defend him "from undergoing any Diſgrace by it: But that it "would contribute moſt to his Preſervation, that He "quitted the Employment, and that ſome other Per-"ſon ſhould be ſent to command the next Fleet in "the Spring. For if He ſhould again go to Sea, "and the Parliament ſhould preſs to have him ſent "for to anſwer what They had to object againſt him, "his

The King reſolves to diſmiſs him with Honour.

"his Majeſty muſt either refuſe to conſent to it, which "would make a Breach with his Parliament, or by "conſenting diſorder his maritime Affairs to that De- "gree, that the Enemy could not but take very great "Advantage of it." Therefore They commanded the Chancellor to confer with him and diſcourſe the whole Matter to him, to aſſure him "of the King's and "Duke's Favour, and that They were in this Parti- "cular moved only by their Tenderneſs to him; and "that ſome Expedient ſhould be firſt found out to "remove him with Honour, before any Notice ſhould be "taken of the Purpoſe to remove him, and before any "other Perſon ſhould be deputed to the Command; and "that He himſelf ſhould either propoſe the Expedient, "if any ſuch occurred to him that would be grateful, "or judge of any that ſhould be propoſed to him."

The Chancellor againſt removing him.

THE Chancellor did preſume to declare, "that He "thought that They were perſuaded to apprehend "Somewhat that could not fall out. That He would "not take upon him to excuſe the Earl of *Sandwich* "for any Offence He had committed: If it were of "that Magnitude that his Majeſty thought fit to re- "move him from his Command, Nobody could cen- "ſure it; and it may be in a Time of ſo much Li- "cenſe the Severity might be thought ſeaſonable. But "the Apprehenſion that the Parliament would take "more Notice of what the Earl had done, than They "would of any other Breach of Order that was every "Day committed, was without any juſt Reaſon."(307) But that Argument was preſently ſilenced by their undertaking to know Somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other Way to preſerve him but that which was propoſed.

An Account of Sir Richard Fanſhaw's *Embaſſy in* Spain.

THERE was at that Time an Opportunity in View, that might give the Earl of *Sandwich* an Employment very worthy of him, and which no Man could imagine would be aſſigned to any Man who was in Diſgrace. Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, who was a Gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been firſt

Ambaſſa-

Ambaſſadour in *Portugal*, and had behaved himſelf ſo well there, that when He returned from thence He was recommended, and upon the Matter deſired, by that Crown to be ſent to *Spain*, as the fitteſt Perſon to mediate in the King's Name between *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the King had before deſigned to ſend him Ambaſſadour into *Spain*, as well to ſettle a Treaty between *England* and *Spain* (for there was none yet), as to do all the Offices between thoſe other Crowns which were requiſite to the End aforeſaid. No Man knew that Court better or was ſo well verſed in the Language, having lived many Years before in that Court in much better Times. He had remained now about two Years, with ſuch frequent Mortifications as Miniſters uſe to meet with in Courts irreſolute and perplexed in their own Affairs, as the Counſels of *Madrid* were in the laſt Years of the King, as his Indiſpoſition increaſed or by relaxing adminiſtered ſome Hope. He had made a Journey to *Liſbon* upon the earneſt Deſire of *Spain*, and returned without Effect. The Peace was equally deſired and equally neceſſary to Both Nations: But the *Portugal* was unmoveable in the Conditions of it, preferring the Worſt that could fall out, even the abandoning their Country, rather than to be without the Sovereignty of it; and the *Spaniard* as poſitive not to part with their Title, though They had no Hope of their Subjection. Nor did *Spain* appear ſolicitous to conclude any Treaty with *England*, except either *Portugal* might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

ON a ſudden, when the Recovery of the King grew more deſperate (which is never a Thing notoriouſly known in that Court), a Project for a Treaty was ſent to the Ambaſſadour, containing more Advantages in Trade to the Nation (which are the moſt important Matters in all thoſe Treaties), and inſiſting upon fewer inconvenient Conditions, than had ever been in any former Treaties; without any Mention of *Tangier* or *Jamaica*, which had hitherto in the Entrance into any Treaty

Treaty ſince the King's Return made the Progreſs impoſſible: Only it was urged, "that it might either be "preſently accepted and ſigned by the Ambaſſadour, "with a Covenant that it ſhould be confirmed by the "King within ſo many Days after it ſhould be pre-"ſented to him, or elſe that there ſhould be no more "Mention or Diſcourſe of it."

THE Ambaſſadour, ſurpriſed with this Overture, compared what was offered with what He was to demand by his Inſtructions; and what was defective in thoſe Particulars He added to the Articles preſented to him, with ſuch Additions as upon his own Obſervation and Conference with the Merchants occurred to him, or which ſeemed probable to be granted from Somewhat themſelves had offered more than had been demanded by him. Theſe Alterations and Amendments were approved and conſented to, and quickly returned engroſſed and ſigned by the King, on Condition to be preſently ſigned by him, with the Undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wiſely done by the Ambaſſadour, and no more than his Duty, if He had firſt acquainted his Maſter or the Miniſters with all that had paſſed, and expected a particular Order before He had ſigned it. But that being expreſsly refuſed, without concealing the Reaſon or the King's (308) Weakneſs, "which" They declared "might make "ſuch an Alteration in Counſels, that if it were not "done in his Life-Time They knew not what might "happen after:" This was thought as good an Argument by him for the Diſpatch as it was to them; and that if He ſhould not make Uſe of this Conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous Treaty offered again. Hereupon He preſently ſigned the Treaty, with ſome ſecret Article which was not to the Advantage of *Portugal*, otherwiſe than that He concluded, by what had been ſaid to him at *Liſbon*, it would have been acceptable to them.

THIS Treaty was no ſooner brought to the King by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour (who had received it by an Expreſs)

Expreſs) and peruſed at the Council-Table, but many groſs Faults were found to be in it. Beſides the Gentleman's Abſence, who would with greater Abilities have defended himſelf than any of thoſe had who reproached him, it was no Advantage to him that He was known to be much in the Chancellor's Confidence: And therefore the more Pain was taken to perſuade the King that He was a weak Man (which the King himſelf knew him not to be); and They put ſuch a Gloſs upon many of the Articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain Matters of great Moment, that They would not conſent that a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies* could be any Benefit to *England*, and the like. In the End, the King concluded that He would not ſign the Treaty; for which He had ſome Acceſs of Reaſon within a Month after, by the Death of the King of *Spain*.

He is recalled.

WHEN all theſe Reproaches were caſt upon the Ambaſſadour, and Notice given that the King did diſavow the Treaty and refuſed to ſign it; it was reaſonably reſolved that He ought not to remain there longer as Ambaſſadour, but to be recalled. But the Plague driving the King from *London* and diſperſing the Council, the purſuing this Reſolution was no more aſſumed, till the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Sandwich* made it thought on as a good Expedient; and the Chancellor was directed in his Diſcourſe with the Earl to mention it, as a proper Expedient in his Condition to be laid Hold on and embraced.

(308)

THE Chancellor entered upon the whole Diſcourſe with that Freedom and Openneſs that became a Man who He knew was not ſuſpected by him. He told him all that himſelf knew of the Affair, and the Apprehenſion the King had of the Parliament, and the Expedient He had thought of to remove him out of the Reach or Noiſe of Clamour, of which He made him the Judge; and "if He did not like this Employment for *Spain*, "ſome other ſhould be thought of and publiſhed be-

"fore

"fore it ſhould be known, and before the Command "of the Fleet ſhould be committed to any other."

THE Earl of *Sandwich* lamented "that it had been "in any Body's Power to make ſo ill Impreſſions in the "King and the Duke, upon his having committed a "Treſpaſs for which He was heartily ſorry;" and confeſſed "it was a Preſumption and Indiſcretion, the "ill Conſequence whereof He had not Wit enough "to diſcover: However He did not yet think it ſo "great, as to make him fear to give an Account of it "before the Parliament, or any Thing that They "could do upon it." He ſeemed not to be ignorant of the Offices Sir *William Coventry* did him, "in draw-"ing Complaints and Reproaches from thoſe who had "neither Cauſe nor Inclination to ſpeak to his Diſad-"vantage. He was ſenſible of the General's Want of "Juſtice towards him, which He knew not to what to "impute but to his Pride and Weakneſs. He did ac-"knowledge it great Bounty in the King, ſince He (309) "thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the "Command He had, that He would yet aſſign him "to ſo honourable an Employment; which, though "it could not wipe off the Reproach of being diſ-"miſſed from the other Charge, was yet a ſufficient "Evidence that He was not out of his Majeſty's good "Opinion and Confidence: And therefore He did "with all Cheerfulneſs ſubmit to his Majeſty's Plea-"ſure, and would be ready for his Journey to *Spain* as "ſoon as his Diſpatch ſhould be prepared."

HE told him then, "that He was in one Reſpect "glad to be removed from his preſent Command, for "He was confident that He would ſee no more great "Matters done at Sea, for that the common Men "were weary of the War; and that Sir *William* would "never ſuffer any Peace to be in the Fleet, but had "Creatures ready to do all ill Offices amongſt them, "whom He cheriſhed and preferred before the beſt "Officers;" and told him many other Things which

fell

ſell out afterwards, and ſaid "Sir *William* would make "any Man who ſhould ſucceed him weary of his "Command, by ſending ſuch Variety of Orders that "He would not know what to do." And ſhortly after He gave him a perfect Journal of his laſt Expedition, in which there were indeed many Orders which muſt needs ſtartle and perplex a Commander in Chief, it being his uſual Courſe to ſignify the Duke's Pleaſure in Matters of the greateſt Importance without the Duke's Hand; which yet They durſt not diſobey, nor produce in their own Juſtification, being ſuch as in Truth were no ſuch Warrants as They ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his Royal Highneſs: And told him likewiſe of the ill Inventions He had ſet on Foot, by which Prince *Rupert* was ſtopped from being joined with him in the Command of the laſt Fleet.

The Earl of Sandwich *ſent Ambaſſadour Extraordinary into* Spain.

WHEN the Chancellor had informed the King of the Earl of *Sandwich* his Submiſſion to his Pleaſure, and that He would be ready to undertake the Employment for *Spain* as ſoon as his Majeſty pleaſed; hereupon the King declared his Reſolution in Council to ſend the Earl of *Sandwich* his Extraordinary Ambaſſadour, as well to correct and amend the Miſtakes and Errours in the late Treaty, as farther to mediate the Peace with *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the King was in ſome Reſpect more practicable. And to that Purpoſe He ſent Sir *Robert Southwell*, one of the Clerks of the Council, Envoy into *Portugal*, that the Earl might the better know the Inclinations of that People: And all Inſtructions neceſſary were preſently to be prepared to Both thoſe Ends.

The King thinks of appointing Prince Rupert *and the General joint Admirals.*

THIS firſt Work being thus diſpatched, it remained to ſettle the Command, for the enſuing Year, of the Fleet; and there can be little Doubt made, but that the King and the Duke had reſolved this at the ſame Time that They determined that the Earl of *Sandwich* ſhould not continue in it: However it was communicated to Nobody, till the Deſignation of the other was publiſhed. Then the King told the Chancellor, "that "his

" his Brother and He had long conſidered that Affair, " and could not think of any Expedient ſo good for " the Performance of that Service, as a Conjunction " between Prince *Rupert* and the General, and making " them Both joint Commanders in Chief of the Fleet " for the next Expedition." There had many Exceptions occurred to them againſt committing the Charge to either of them ſingly; nor were They without Apprehenſion of ſome which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if They were not Both well prepared to embrace the Occaſion, and themſelves to like the Deſignation. For the doing this the Chancellor was again thought to be the fitteſt Man, being believed to have the greateſt Intereſt in Both of them, and moſt in him from whom the great- (310)
eſt Difficulties were expected to ariſe, which was Prince *Rupert*. It was eaſy to know Prince *Rupert's* Mind, who was in the Houſe: Yet They were Both in Caſes of that Nature deſirous always to impart what They deſired by others, rather than to debate it firſt themſelves. But then the General was at *London*, beſieged by the Plague; and the Matter was not fit to be communicated by Letter, becauſe, if He ſhould make any Scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Prince Rupert willingly accepts of a joint Commiſſion.

Upon theſe Conſiderations it was reſolved, firſt, that the Chancellor ſhould prepare Prince *Rupert*, and then that the General ſhould be ſent for to *Oxford* upon Pretences, of which enough would occur. The Prince, though He was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the King's Pleaſure: And ſo Both the King and Duke ſpake at large with him upon all that was neceſſary to be adjuſted. And the General was ſent to, " that it was neceſſary for the King to " confer with him upon ſome Propoſitions, which " were made to him upon the *Eaſt-India* Ships" (which Tranſaction was not at that Time yet concluded); " and therefore that on ſuch a Day He ſhould come " from *London* early in the Morning" (for it was deep Winter) " in his own Coach to *Beaconsfield*, where He

" ſhould

"ſhould find another Coach ready to receive him, and "another at another Stage; ſo that He might be with "Eaſe at *Oxford* the ſame Night," as He was, and very graciouſly received by the King, as He deſerved to be. But as He had no Manner of Imagination of the true Reaſon why He was ſent for, ſo neither his Majeſty nor the Duke would impart it to him, out of real Imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterouſly managed by the Chancellor, in whom, as was ſaid before, it was generally believed that He had great Confidence.

The Chancellor confers with the General upon the Subject.

HE the next Morning entered into Conference with him, and after general Diſcourſes told him, "that the "King had diſpoſed the Earl of *Sandwich* to another "Employment, for which He did not ſeem ſorry; "and that it muſt now be thought of, who was fit to "command in his Place: That there was no Hope of "Peace, inſtead whereof there would be an entire "Conjunction between *France* and the *Dutch*; and "that the *French* Fleet" (the Ambaſſadours being about this Time gone) "would be ready to join with "them as ſoon as They ſhould put to Sea; and there "was much Doubt that the *Dane* would betake him-"ſelf to the ſame Alliance; and all would be at Sea "before We ſhould be, except extraordinary Diligence "were uſed, which the Continuance of the Plague "would hardly admit." The General preſently anſwered, "that no Perſon was ſo fit for that Command "as Prince *Rupert*, who underſtood the Seas well, and "had that Courage that was neceſſary in this Con-"juncture."

THE Chancellor told him, "that the King had great "Confidence in the Affection and unqueſtionable Cou-"rage of Prince *Rupert:* But He was not ſure, that "the Quickneſs of his Spirit and the Strength of his "Paſſion might not ſometimes ſtand in Need of the "Advice and Aſſiſtance of a Friend, who ſhould be "in equal Authority with him; and had therefore "thought

"thought of finding ſome fit Perſon to be joined with "him, and ſo make one Admiral of two Perſons." To which the other not replying ſuddenly, He continued his Diſcourſe, ſaying "that the King had ſuch a Per- "ſon in his View, whom He would never acquaint "with it, until He might find ſome Way to diſcover "that the propoſing it would not be ingrateful to "him; and that He was obliged to make this Diſco- "very, and that the Perſon in the King's View was "himſelf; and that if He and Prince *Rupert* were "joined in the Command of the Fleet and undertook (311 "it, his Majeſty would believe that He had done all "that was in his Power, and would with great Hope "commit all the reſt to God Almighty." He ſaid, "He thought He had behaved himſelf moſt like a "Friend in telling him ſhortly and plainly what the "King's Drift was, towards which, though the Secret "was known to none but the Duke of *York*, yet ſuch "an Advance was made, that his Majeſty was well "aſſured that Prince *Rupert* would readily comply with "his Pleaſure." Upon the whole Matter He deſired him "to deal as like a Friend with him, and to tell "him freely if He had no Mind to the Employment; "and He would take upon him to prevent the ma- "king the Propoſition to him, and that neither the "King nor Duke ſhould take it unkindly."

THE General appeared really ſurpriſed and full of Thoughts: And after a ſhort Pauſe He deſired him "not to believe that He made the leaſt Difficulty in "his Thoughts of undertaking the Service; but many "Things had occurred to him in the Diſcourſe, which "He would mention anon." He ſaid, "that for his "own Part He ſhould be willing to go out of *London* "To-morrow, and think himſelf much ſafer in any "Action againſt the *Dutch* than He could be in the "Poſt He was, where every Day Men died about him "and in his View; and as He thought that He had "done the King better Service by ſtaying in *London*, "than He could have done in any other Place, ſo He

"believed

"believed if the Sickneſs ſhould continue" (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little Decreaſe), "his Majeſty might think that his Preſence "might be as neceſſary there as it had been." The Chancellor replied, "that his Majeſty had foreſeen "that Contingency; and had already reſolved that if "that fell out to be the Caſe, He ſhould rather deſire "his Reſidence ſhould be where it had been (though "He was much troubled to expoſe him to ſo much "Hazard) than in any other Place: But that his Ma-"jeſty's Confidence in the Mercy of God, that He "would take off this heavy Viſitation before the End of "Winter, had ſuggeſted the other Deſignation of him "to the Service of the Fleet, upon the good Conduct "whereof his own and the Kingdom's Happineſs ſo "much depended."

THE General quickly replied, "that for that Mat-"ter He was ſo willing to engage himſelf, that if the "King pleaſed He would moſt readily ſerve under the "Command of Prince *Rupert:*" To which the other anſwered as readily, "that the King would never con-"ſent to that." And ſo They reſolved preſently to go to the King, that his Majeſty and the Duke might know what would pleaſe them ſo much. And as They were going, the General ſaid ſmiling, "that "He would tell him now what the true Cauſe was, "that had made that Pauſe in him upon the firſt Diſ-"courſe of the Buſineſs; and that it would be neceſ-"ſary for him, after all Things ſhould be adjuſted "with the King and Duke and Prince *Rupert*, that "what concerned him ſhould ſtill remain a Secret, and "Prince *Rupert* be underſtood to have that Command "alone. For if his Wife ſhould come to know it, be-"fore He had by Degrees prepared her for it, She "would break out into ſuch Paſſions as would be very "uneaſy to him: But He would in a ſhort Time diſ-"poſe her well enough; and in the mean Time No-"thing ſhould be omitted on his Part, that was ne-"ceſſary for the Advancement of the Service." Here-upon

The General ſubmits to the King's Plea-ſure.

upon the King, the Duke, the Prince and the General conſulted of all that was to be done: And He at the End of two Days returned to *London* with the ſame Expedition that He came to *Oxford*, together with Sir *George Carteret* the Treaſurer of the Navy, and all Or-(312) ders that were requiſite for the Sale of the *Eaſt-India* Ships, upon which all Proviſions for the Fleet were to be made.

THOUGH the Parliament at *Oxford* had preſerved that excellent Harmony that the King had propoſed, and hardly wiſhed any Thing in which They had not concurred, inſomuch as never Parliament ſo entirely ſympathiſed with his Majeſty; and though it paſſed more Acts for his Honour and Security than any other had ever done in ſo ſhort a Seſſion: Yet it produced a Precedent of a very unhappy Nature, the Circumſtances whereof in the preſent were unuſual and pernicious, and the Conſequences in the future very miſchievous, and therefore not unfit to be ſet out at large.

THE Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, cloſely united in the ſame Purpoſes and eſpecially againſt the Chancellor, had a great Deſire to find ſome Means to change the Courſe and Method of the King's Counſels; which They could hardly do whilſt the ſame Perſons continued ſtill in the ſame Employments. Their Malice was moſt againſt the Chancellor: Yet They knew not what Suggeſtions to make to the King againſt him, having always pretended to his Majeſty, how falſely ſoever, to have a great Eſteem of him. Their Project therefore was to remove the Treaſurer, who was as weary of his Office and of the Court as any Body could be of him: But his Reputation was ſo great, his Wiſdom ſo unqueſtionable, and his Integrity ſo confeſſed, that They knew in neither of thoſe Points He could be impeached. And the King himſelf had Kindneſs and Reverence towards him, though He had for ſome Years thought him leſs active, and ſo leſs fit for that Adminiſtration, than every Body elſe knew him to be: And theſe Men had long inſinuated

ated unto his Majeſty, "how ill all the Buſineſs of "the Exchequer was managed by the continual Infir- "mities of the Treaſurer, who between the Gout and "the Stone had not Eaſe enough to attend the painful "Function of that Office, but left the Whole to be "managed and governed by his Secretary Sir *Philip* "*Warwick*;" upon whoſe Experience and Fidelity He did in Truth much rely, as He had Reaſon to do, his Reputation for Both being very ſignal and univerſal. And towards faſtening this Reproach They had the Contribution of the Lord *Aſhley*, who was good at looking into other Men's Offices, and was not pleaſed to ſee Sir *Philip Warwick's* Credit greater than his with the Treaſurer, and his Advice more followed. And the other two had craftily inſinuated to him, that He would make much a better Treaſurer; which, whilſt He thought They were in Earneſt, prevailed with him not only to ſuggeſt Materials to them for that Reproach, but to inculcate the ſame to the King upon ſeveral Occaſions: But when He diſcovered that They intended Nothing of Advantage to his Particular, He withdrew from that Intrigue, though in all other Particulars He ſided with them.

THE King was too eaſy in making Aſſignations upon his Revenue, which would make it uncapable to ſatisfy others which were more neceſſary, and to grant Suits by Leaſe or Farm (ſometimes to worthy Men), which were of miſchievous Conſequence to all the Meaſures which could be taken; and thoſe the Treaſurer found himſelf obliged to ſtop: And commonly upon informing the King of it and of his Reaſons, his Majeſty was very well pleaſed with what He had done, and (as hath been ſaid before) did often give himſelf Eaſe from the Importunity of many, by ſigning the Warrants They brought to him, in Confidence that either the Chancellor or Treaſurer would not ſuffer them to paſs. However it raiſed Clamour; and there were Men enough who had the ſame Provocation to make a great Noiſe; and They eaſily found Countenance

from others, who desired it should be believed, "that "it was a high Arrogance and Presumption in any (313) "Subject to stop any Signature of the King, and so "make his Majesty's Grace and Bounty to be ineffec- "tual, if his Approbation and Consent was not like- "wise procured." There was visibly great Want of Money, though there were vast Sums raised; which They laboured to persuade the King proceeded from the Unskilfulness or Unactivity of the Treasurer, who was again tired with the Vexation and Indignity, when He had so frequently presented the King with the Particulars of the Receipts and Disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his Expenses exceeded all his Income; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply necessary Occasions: But this was an ungracious Subject, and opened more Mouths than could easily be stopped.

THERE was a Man who hath been often named, Sir *George Downing*, who by having been some Years in the Office of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and being of a restless Brain, did understand enough of the Nature of the Revenue and of the Course of the Receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that He knew the Bottom of it, and that the Expedients, which should be proposed by him towards a Reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And He was not unhurt in the Emoluments of his own Office, which were lessened by the Assignations made to the Bankers upon the Receipts themselves, without the Money's ever passing through the Tellers Office; by which, though They did receive their just Fees, They had not what They would have taken if the Money had passed through their own Hands. He was a Member of Parliament, and a very voluminous Speaker, who would be thought wiser in Trade than any of the Merchants, and to understand the Mystery of all Professions much better than the Professors of them. And such a Kind of Chat is always acceptable in a Crowd (where few understand many

many Subjects), who are always glad to find thoſe put
(313) out of Countenance who thought They underſtood it beſt: And ſo They were much pleaſed to hear Sir *George Downing* inveigh againſt the Ignorance of thoſe, who could only ſmile at his Want of Knowledge.

THIS Gentleman was very grateful to Sir *William Coventry* as well as to Lord *Arlington*, and was ready to inſtruct them in all the Miſcarriages and Overſights in the Treaſury, and to propoſe Ways of Reformation to them. "The Root of all Miſcarriage was the unlimited Power of the Lord Treaſurer, that no Money could iſſue out without his particular Direction, and all Money was paid upon no other Rules than his Order; ſo that let the King want as much as was poſſible, no Money could be paid by his without the Treaſurer's Warrant;" which to Men who underſtood no more than They did ſeemed a very great Incongruity. "But," He ſaid, "if there were ſuch a Clauſe inſerted into the Bill which was to be paſſed in the Houſe of Commons for Money, it might prevent all Inconveniences, and the King's Money would be paid only to thoſe Perſons and Purpoſes to which his Majeſty ſhould aſſign them; and more Money would be preſently advanced upon this Act of Parliament, than the Credit of the Bankers could procure;" for He foreſaw, that would be a very natural Objection againſt his Clauſe and the Method He propoſed.

A Project of Sir George Downing *to new-model the Treaſury.*

HE made his Diſcourſe ſo plauſible to them that They were much pleaſed with it; and it provided for ſo many of their own Ends, that They neither did nor were able to conſider the Reverſe of it, but were moſt ſolicitous that there might no Obſtructions ariſe in the Way. If it ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor, He would oppoſe it for the Novelty, and the
(314) Conſequences that might attend it; and if the Treaſurer had Notice of it, He would not conſent to it for the Indignity that his Office was ſubjected to: They therefore diſcourſed it to the King as a Matter of high

Importance to his Service if it were ſecretly carried; and then brought the Projector, who was an indefatigable Talker, to inform his Majeſty of the many Benefits which would accrue to his Service by this new Method that He had deviſed, and the many Miſchiefs which would be prevented.

THERE were many Things which were ſuggeſted, that were agreeable to ſome Fancies that the King himſelf had entertained; there would not need now ſo many Formalities, as Warrants and Privy Seals, before Monies could be paid; and Money might hereafter iſſue out and be paid without the Treaſurer's Privity; in which many Conveniences ſeemed to appear: Though beſides the Innovation and Breach of all old Order, which is ever attended by many Miſchiefs unforeſeen, there were very great Inconveniences in View in thoſe very Particulars which They fancied to be Conveniences. But it was enough that the King ſo well liked the Advice upon Conference with them three, that He reſolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed that when the Bill for Supply ſhould be brought into the Houſe (it being to be, as was ſaid before, for the Sum of ——), at the Commitment *Downing* ſhould offer that *Proviſo*, which had been drawn by himſelf, and read to the King and the other two. And becauſe it was foreſeen, that it would be oppoſed by many of thoſe who were known to be very affectionate to the King's Service, They had all Authority privately to aſſure them, that it was offered with the King's Approbation.

A Clamour raiſed againſt the Bankers.

AGAINST the Time that the Bill was to be brought in, They prepared the Houſe by many unſeaſonable, bitter Invectives againſt the Bankers, called them Cheats, Bloodſuckers, Extortioners, and loaded them with all the Reproaches which can be caſt upon the worſt Men in the World, and would have them looked upon as the Cauſes of all the King's Neceſſities, and of the Want of Monies throughout the Kingdom: All which was a plauſible Argument, as all Invectives againſt

particular

particular Men are; and all Men who had Faculties of depraving, and of making ill Things appear worſe than they are, were eaſily engaged with them. The Bankers did not conſiſt of above the Number of five or ſix Men, ſome whereof were Aldermen and had been Lord-Mayors of *London*, and all the reſt were Aldermen or had fined for Aldermen. They were a Tribe that had riſen and grown up in *Cromwell's* Time, and never were heard of before the late Troubles, till when the whole Trade of Money had paſſed through the Hands of the Scriveners: They were for the moſt Part Goldſmiths, Men known to be ſo rich, and of good Reputation, that all the Money of the Kingdom would be truſted or depoſited in their Hands.

The Advantage ariſing from the Bankers.

FROM the Time of the King's Return, when though great and vaſt Sums were granted, yet ſuch vaſt Debts were preſently to be paid, the Armies by Land and Sea to be preſently diſcharged, that the Money that was to be collected in ſix and ſix Months would not provide for thoſe preſent unavoidable Iſſues; but there muſt be two or three hundred thouſand Pounds gotten together in few Days, before They could begin to diſband the Armies or to pay the Seamen off; the deferring whereof every Month increaſed the Charge to an incredible Proportion: None could ſupply thoſe Occaſions but the Bankers, which brought the King's Miniſters firſt acquainted with them; and They were ſo well ſatisfied with their Proceedings, "that They did always declare, that They (315) "were ſo neceſſary to the King's Affairs, that They "knew not how to have conducted them without that "Aſſiſtance."

The Method of treating with them.

THE Method of Proceeding with them was thus. As ſoon as an Act of Parliament was paſſed, the King ſent for thoſe Bankers (for there was never any Contract made with them but in his Majeſty's Preſence): And He being attended by the Miniſters of the Revenue, and commonly the Chancellor and others of the

Council, the Lord Treaſurer preſented a particular Information to the King of the moſt urgent Occaſions for preſent Money, either for diſbanding Troops, or diſcharging Ships, or ſetting out Fleets (all which are to be done together and not by Parcels); ſo that it was eaſily foreſeen what ready Money muſt be provided. And this Account being made, the Bankers were called in, and told, "that the King had Occaſion to uſe ſuch "a Sum of ready Money within ſuch a Day; They "underſtood the Act of Parliament, and ſo might "determine what Money They could lend the King, "and what Manner of Security would beſt ſatisfy "them." Whereupon one ſaid, "He would within "ſuch a Time pay one hundred thouſand Pounds," another more, and another leſs, as They found themſelves provided; for there was no joint Stock amongſt them, but every one ſupplied according to his Ability. They were deſirous to have eight in the Hundred, which was not unreaſonable to aſk and the King was willing to give: But upon the better Conſideration amongſt themſelves, They thought fit to decline that Demand as being capable of turning to their Diſadvantage, and would leave the Intereſt to the King's own Bounty, declaring "that themſelves paid "ſix in the Hundred for all the Money with which "They were intruſted," which was known to be true.

THEN They demanded ſuch a Receipt and Aſſignment to be made to them by the Lord Treaſurer, for the Payment of the firſt Money that ſhould be payable upon that Act of Parliament, or a Branch of that Act, or Tallies upon the Farmers of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe, or ſuch other Branches of the Revenue as were leaſt charged; having the King's own Word and the Faith of the Treaſurer, that They ſhould be exactly complied with; for let the Security be what They could deſire, it would ſtill be in the Power of the King or of the Lord Treaſurer to divert what was aſſigned to them to other Purpoſes. Therefore there is Nothing ſurer, than that the Confidence in the King's Juſtice, and the unqueſtion-

unqueſtionable Reputation of the Lord Treaſurer's Honour and Integrity, was the true Foundation of that Credit which ſupplied all his Majeſty's Neceſſities and Occaſions; and his Majeſty always treated thoſe Men very graciouſly as his very good Servants, and all his Miniſters looked upon them as very honeſt and valuable Men. And in this Manner for many Years after his Majeſty's Return, even to the unhappy Beginning of the *Dutch* War, the publick Expenſes were carried on, it may be, with too little Difficulty, which poſſibly increaſed ſome Expenſes; and Nobody opened his Mouth againſt the Bankers, who every Day increaſed in Credit and Reputation, and had the Money of all Men at their Diſpoſal.

THE Solicitor General brought in the Bill for Supply according to Courſe, in that Form as thoſe Bills for Money ought and uſed to be: And after it had been read the ſecond Time, when it was committed *Downing* offered his *Proviſo*, the End of which was, "to make all the Money that was to be raiſed by this "Bill to be applied only to thoſe Ends to which it was "given, which was the carrying on the War, and to "no other Purpoſe whatſoever, by what Authority "ſoever;" with many other Clauſes in it ſo monſtrous, that the Solicitor and many others who were moſt watchful for the King's Service declared againſt (316) it, as introductive to a Commonwealth, and not fit for Monarchy. It was obſerved, "that the Aſſignment "of the Money that was given by Act of Parliament "to be paid in another Manner and to other Perſons "than had been formerly uſed, though there wanted "not plauſible Pretences, was the Beginning of the "late Rebellion, and furniſhed the Parliament with "Money to raiſe a Rebellion, when the King had "none to defend himſelf; which had made *Cromwell* "wiſe enough never to permit any of thoſe Clauſes, "or that the Impoſitions which were raiſed ſhould be "diſpoſed to any Uſes or by any Perſons but by him-"ſelf and his own Orders." And by ſuch and other

See 17. Ch. 2. c. 1.

Downing offers a new Proviſo in the Bill for the Supply.

Which is oppoſed by the Solicitor General.

Argu-

Arguments, which the Contrivers had not foreſeen, the *Proviſo* had been abſolutely thrown out, if Sir *William Coventry* and *Downing* had not gone to the Solicitor and others who ſpake againſt it, and aſſured them, "that it was brought in by the King's own Direction, "and for Purpoſes well underſtood by his Majeſty." Upon which They were contented that it ſhould be committed, yet with Direction "that ſuch and ſuch Expreſſions ſhould be reformed and amended."

The King commands him not to oppoſe it farther.

In the Afternoon the King ſent for the Solicitor, and forbad him any more to oppoſe that *Proviſo*, for that it was much for his Service. And when He would inform him of many Miſchiefs which would inevitably attend it, ſome were of thoſe which He had no Mind to prevent, being to leſſen their Power who He thought had too much, and the other He cared not to hear; and ſaid only, "that He would bear the Inconvenien-"ces which would enſue upon his own Account, for "the Benefits which would accrue, and which it was "not yet ſeaſonable to communicate."

With other Members of the Houſe of Commons, whom He thought not to be ſo able to diſpute it with him, He enlarged more in Diſcourſe; and told them, "that this would be an Encouragement to lend Mo-"ney, by making the Payment with Intereſt ſo certain "and fixed, that there could be no Security in the "Kingdom like it, when it ſhould be out of any Man's "Power to cauſe any Money that ſhould be lent To-"morrow to be paid before that which was lent Yeſ-"terday, but that all ſhould be infallibly paid in Or-"der; by which the Exchequer (which was now Bank-"rupt and without any Credit) would be quickly in "that Reputation, that all Men would depoſite their "Money there: And that He hoped in few Years, by "obſerving the Method He now propoſed, He would "make his Exchequer the beſt and the greateſt Bank in "*Europe*, and where all *Europe* would, when it was once "underſtood, pay in their Money for the certain Profit "it would yield, and the indubitable Certainty that "They ſhould receive their Money."

And

AND with this Diſcourſe the vain Man, who had lived many Years in *Holland*, and would be thought to have made himſelf Maſter of all their Policy, had amuſed the King, and his two Friends, undertaking to erect the King's Exchequer into the ſame Degree of Credit that the Bank of *Amſterdam* ſtood upon, the Inſtitution whereof He undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that ſhould be "tranſplanted into *England*, and all Nations would "ſooner ſend their Money into the Exchequer, than "into *Amſterdam* or *Genoa* or *Venice*." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this Intoxication prevailed ſo far that no Argument would be heard againſt it, the King having upon thoſe Notions, and with the Advice of thoſe Counſellors, in his own Thoughts new-modelled the whole Government of his Treaſury, (317) in which He reſolved to have no more ſuperiour Officers. But this was only reſerved within his own Breaſt, and not communicated to any but thoſe who deviſed the Project, without weighing that the Security for Monies ſo depoſited in Banks is the Republick itſelf, which muſt expire before that Security can fail; which can never be depended on in a Monarchy, where the Monarch's ſole Word can cancel all thoſe formal Proviſions which can be made (as hath ſince been too evident), by vacating thoſe Aſſignations which have been made upon that and the like Acts of Parliament, for ſuch Time as the preſent Neceſſities have made counſellable; which would not then be admitted to be poſſible.

AND ſo without any more Oppoſition, which was not grateful to the King, that Act paſſed the Houſe of Commons, with the Correction only of ſuch Abſurdities as had not been foreſeen by thoſe who framed the *Proviſo*, and which did indeed croſs their own Deſigns: And ſo it was ſent from the Commons to the Houſe of Peers for their Conſent. *It is paſſed by the Commons.*

BILLS of that Nature which concern the raiſing of Money ſeldom ſtay long with the Lords; but as of Cuſtom,

Cuſtom, which They call Privilege, they are firſt begun in the Houſe of Commons, where they endure long Deliberation, ſo when they are adjuſted there, they ſeem to paſs through the Houſe of Peers with the reading twice and formal Commitment, in which any Alterations are very rarely made, except in any Impoſitions which are laid upon their own Perſons, for which there are uſually Blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the Amendment or Alteration that is commonly made by the Lords: So that the ſame Engroſſment that is ſent up by the Commons is uſually the Bill itſelf that is preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent. Yet there can be no reaſonable Doubt made, but that thoſe Bills of any Kind of Subſidies, as Exciſe, Chimney-Money, or any other Way of Impoſition, are as much the Gift and Preſent from the Houſe of Peers as they are from the Houſe of Commons, and are no more valid without their Conſent than without the Conſent of the other; and They may alter any Clauſe in them that They do not think for the Good of the People. But becauſe the Houſe of Commons is the immediate Repreſentative of the People, it is preſumed that They beſt know what They can bear or are willing to ſubmit to, and what They purpoſe to give is proportionable to what They can ſpare; and therefore the Lords uſe not to put any Stop in the Paſſage of ſuch Bills, much leſs diminiſh what is offered by them to the King.

And in this Parliament the Expedition that was uſed in all Buſineſs out of Fear of the Sickneſs, and out of an impatient Deſire to be ſeparated, was very notorious: And as ſoon as this Bill for Supply was ſent to the Lords, very many Members of the Houſe of Commons left the Town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally thought, that at the paſſing that Act with the reſt which were ready, the King would prorogue the Parliament. Yet the Novelty in this Act ſo ſurpriſed the Lords, that They thought it worthy a very ſerious Delibe-

Deliberation, and uſed not their cuſtomary Expedition in the paſſing it. It happened to be in an ill Conjuncture, when the terrible cold Weather kept the Lord Treaſurer from going out of his Chamber for Fear of the Gout, of which the Chancellor laboured then in that Extremity, that He was obliged to remain in his Bed; that neither of them had received Information of this Affair. Many of the Lords came to them and advertiſed them of this new *Proviſo*; and ſome of them went to the King to let him (318) know the Prejudice it would bring him, and cenſured the ill Hand that had contrived it.

Some Lords remonſtrate to the King againſt this Proviſo.

THE Lord *Aſhley*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had been privy in the firſt Cabal in which this Reformation was deſigned, whether becauſe He found himſelf left out in the moſt ſecret Part of it, or not enough conſidered in it, paſſionately inveighed againſt it both publickly and privately, and according to the Fertility of his Wit and Invention found more Objections againſt it than any Body elſe had done, and the Conſequences to be more deſtructive; with which He ſo alarmed the King, that his Majeſty was contented that the Matter ſhould be debated in his Preſence; and becauſe the Chancellor was in his Bed, thought his Chamber to be the fitteſt Place for the Conſultation: And the Lord Treaſurer, though indiſpoſed and apprehenſive of the Gout, could yet uſe his Feet, and was very willing to attend his Majeſty there, without the leaſt Imagination that He was aimed at in the leaſt.

The King conſults the private Committee upon it.

THE King appointed the Hour for the Meeting, where his Majeſty with his Brother was preſent, the Chancellor in his Bed, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Aſhley*, the Lord *Arlington*, and Sir *William Coventry*; the Attorney General and the Solicitor were likewiſe preſent to word any Alterations which ſhould be fit to be made; and Sir *George Downing* likewiſe attended, who the King ſtill believed would be able to anſwer all Objections which could be made. The Chan-

Chancellor had never ſeen the *Proviſo*, which contained all the Novelty (for all the other Parts of the Bill were according to the Courſe), and the Treaſurer had read it only an Hour or two before the Meeting: The Lord *Aſhley* therefore, who had heard it read in the Houſe of Peers and obſerved what that Houſe thought of it, opened the whole Buſineſs with the Novelty, and the ill Conſequence that muſt inevitably attend it; all which He enforced with great Clearneſs and Evidence of Reaſon, and would have enlarged with ſome Sharpneſs upon the Adviſers of it.

But the King himſelf ſtopped that by declaring, "that whatſoever had been done in the whole Tranſ-"action of it had been with his Privity and Appro-"bation, and the whole Blame muſt be laid to his "own Charge, who it ſeems was like to ſuffer moſt "by it." He confeſſed, "He was ſo fully convinced "in his own Underſtanding, that the Method pro-"poſed would prove to his infinite Advantage and to "the Benefit of the Kingdom, that He had converted "many in the Houſe who had diſliked it; and that "ſince it came into the Houſe of Peers, He had "ſpoken with many of the Lords who ſeemed moſt "unſatisfied with it: And He was confident He had "ſo well informed many of them, that They had "changed their Opinion and would be no more "againſt that *Proviſo*. However He confeſſed that "ſome remained ſtill obſtinate againſt it, and They "had given ſome Reaſons which He had not thought "of, and which in Truth He could not anſwer: "He wiſhed therefore that They would apply them-"ſelves to the moſt weighty Objections which were "in View, or which might probably reſult from "thence, and think of the beſt Remedies which "might be applied by Alterations and Amendments "in the Houſe of Lords, which He doubted not but "that the Commons would concur in."

The

THE first Objection was "the Novelty, which in "Caſes of that Nature was very dangerous, remem- "bering what hath been mentioned before of the "Beginning of the late Rebellion, by putting the "Money to run in another Channel than it had uſed "to do: And that when once ſuch a Clauſe was ad- "mitted in one Bill, the King would hardly get it "left out in others of the ſame Kind hereafter; and [19] "ſo his Majeſty ſhould never be Maſter of his own "Money, nor the Miniſters of his Revenue be able "to aſſign Monies to defray any caſual Expenſes of "what Nature ſoever; but that upon the Matter "the Authority of the Treaſurer and Chancellor of "the Exchequer muſt be inveſted in the Tellers of "the Exchequer, who were ſubordinate Officers, "and qūalified to do Nothing but by the immediate "Order of thoſe their ſuperiour Officers. And though "there are four Tellers in equal Authority, yet Sir "*George Downing* would in a ſhort Time make his "Office the ſole Receipt, and the reſt neither receive "not pay but by his Favour and Conſent." *Objections made againſt it there.*

THE King had in his Nature ſo little Reverence or Eſteem for Antiquity, and did in Truth ſo much contemn old Orders, Forms and Inſtitutions, that the Objections of Novelty rather advanced than obſtructed any Propoſition. He was a great Lover of new Inventions, and thought them the Effects of Wit and Spirit, and fit to control the ſuperſtitious Obſervation of the Dictates of our Anceſtors: So that Objection made little Impreſſion. And for the Continuance of the ſame Clauſe in future Bills, He looked for it as neceſſary in Order to the Eſtabliſhment of his Bank, which would abundantly recompenſe for his Loſs of Power in Diſpoſal of his own Money. And though it was made appear by very ſolid Arguments, that the Imagination of a Bank was a mere Chimera in itſelf, and the erecting it in the Exchequer muſt ſuppoſe that the Crown muſt be always liable to a vaſt Debt upon Intereſt, which would be very

very ill Husbandry; and that there was great Hope, that after a happy Peace should be concluded, and Care should be taken to bring the Expenses into a narrower Compass, the King might in a short Time be out of Debt: Yet all Discourse against a Bank was thought to proceed from pure Ignorance. And Sir *George* was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously "of "the Method by which it came to be settled in *Hol-* "*land* by the Industry of very few Persons, when the "greatest Men despaired of it as impracticable; yet "the Obstinacy of the other prevailed, and it was "now become the Strength, Wealth and Security of "the State: That the same would be brought to "pass much more easily here, and would be no soon- "er done, than *England* would be the Seat of all the "Trade of *Christendom*." And then assuming all He said to be Demonstration, He wrapped himself up, according to his Custom, in a Mist of Words that Nobody could see Light in, but They who by often hearing the same Chat thought They understood it.

The next Objection was "against the Injustice of "this Clause, and the ill Consequence of that In- "justice. The Necessities of the Crown being still "pressing, and the Fleet every Day calling for Sup- "ply, Money had been borrowed from the Bankers "upon the Credit of this Bill, as soon as the first "Vote had passed in the House of Commons for "so considerable a Supply; and the Treasurer had "made Assignments upon several Branches of the "Revenue, which had been preserved and designed "for the Army and the immediate Expenses of the "King's and Queen's Houshold, and the like un- "avoidable Issues, upon Presumption that enough "would come in from this new Act of Parliament "to be replaced to those Purposes, before the Time "that would require it should come. But by this "*Proviso* especial Care was taken, that none of the "Money

"Money that ſhould be raiſed ſhould be applied to "the Payment of any Debt that was contracted be- "fore the Royal Aſſent was given to the Bill: So "that both the Money lent by the Bankers upon "the Promiſe made to them muſt be unpaid and "unſecured, and the Money that had been ſupplied "from other Aſſignations muſt not be applied to "the original Uſe; by which the Army and Houſ- "hold would be unprovided for, the Inconvenience "whereof had no Need of an Enlargement."

"BESIDES that the Bankers had the King's Word, "and the Engagement of the Miniſters of the Re- "venue, that all new Bills of Supply ſhould ſtill "make good what former Securities were not ſuffi- "cient to do; as by this heavy Viſitation of the "Plague, the Aſſignations which had been made "upon the Exciſe and Chimney-Money, and by the "Decay of Trade that the War and Sickneſs toge- "ther had produced, the Aſſignations made upon "the Cuſtoms, had brought in ſo little Money, that "the Debt to the Bankers, which but for thoſe Ob- "ſtructions might by this Time have been much "abated, remained ſtill very little leſs than it was "near a Year before. And when it ſhould be known, "that this Sum of Money that was to be raiſed was "exempt from the Payment of any of thoſe and the "like Debts, it would be a great Heartbreaking to "all thoſe, who had not only lent all their own "Eſtates, but the whole Eſtates of many thouſands "of other Men, to the King, and muſt expect to be "called upon by all who have truſted them for their "Money, which by this Invention They have no "Means to pay: And for the future, let the Ne- "ceſſities be what they will that the Crown may be "involved in, there is no Hope of borrowing any "Money, ſince it is not in the Power of the King "himſelf to make any Aſſignment upon this new "Impoſition."

VERY

VERY much of this had been ſo abſolutely unthought of by the King, that He was very much troubled at it; and He had in his own Judgment a juſt Eſteem of the Bankers, and looked upon any Prejudice that They ſhould ſuffer as hurtful to himſelf, and a great Violation of his Honour and Juſtice. But it was plain enough that the principal Deſign of the Contrivers was to prejudice the Bankers, nor did They care what Ruin befell them, and ſo talked looſely and bitterly "of their cozening the King, "and what ill Bargains had been made with them;" though it was made manifeſt, that no private Gentleman in *England* did upon any real or perſonal Security borrow Money, but conſidering the Brocage He pays, and the often renewing his Security, it coſts him yearly much more than the King paid to the Bankers.

THEY ſlighted what was paſt as ſufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the King ſhould never more have Need of the Bankers, "for that this Act would be no ſooner paſſed, "but upon the Credit of it Money would be poured "into the Exchequer faſter than it could be told." And when They were told, "that Expectation would "deceive them, and that great Sums would not "come in, and ſmall Sums would do Hurt, be-"cauſe they would but ſtop up the Security from "giving Satisfaction to others, becauſe whatever was "firſt paid in muſt be firſt paid:" All this was anſwered confidently, "that vaſt Sums were ready to "their Knowledge to be paid in as ſoon as the Bill "ſhould paſs;" which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thouſand Pounds were delivered in by themſelves and their Friends to ſave their Credit, there was no more Money like to come; and that Sum did more Harm than Good, by interrupting the Security.

BUT notwithſtanding all their Anſwers, the King remained unſatisfied in many Particulars which He had

had not foreſeen, and wiſhed "that the Matter had "been better conſulted;" and confeſſed "that *Down-* "*ing* had not anſwered many of the Objections;" and wiſhed "that Alterations might be prepared "to be offered in the Houſe of Peers as Amend- "ments, and tranſmitted to the Commons, without (321) "caſting out the *Proviſo*;" the Foundation and End of which ſtill pleaſed him for thoſe Reaſons which He would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very eaſy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper Remedy; ſo the mending it would leave much Argument for Debate, and would ſpend much Time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were ſo many of the beſt affected Members of the Houſe of Commons gone out of the Town as having no more to do, that when it ſhould be ſent down thither again, it might be longer delayed there than would be convenient for the Publick; and ſo the Parliament be kept longer from a Prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the King.

It is paſſed by the Lords.

AND therefore upon the whole Matter his Majeſty choſe that no Interruption ſhould be given to it in the Houſe of Peers, and only ſuch ſmall Amend- ments, which would be as ſoon conſented to in Both Houſes as read, ſhould be offered, rather than run the other Hazard of Delay: And ſo accordingly it was paſſed; and upon the doing thereof, the Parliament was prorogued to *April* following.

The Parliament prorogued.

The King much offended with the Chancellor in this Affair.

IN this Debate, upon the inſolent Behaviour of *Downing* in the Defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the Extremity of the Pain which at that Time He endured in his Bed, the Chancellor had given ſome very ſharp Repre- henſions to *Downing*, for his Preſumption in under- taking ſo ſet ſuch a Deſign on Foot that concerned the whole Fabrick of the Exchequer (in which He was an inferiour Officer), and ſuch a Branch of the

King's Revenue, without firſt communicating it to his ſuperiour Officers and receiving their Advice; and told him, "that it was impoſſible for the King "to be well ſerved, whilſt Fellows of his Condition "were admitted to ſpeak as much as They had a "Mind to; and that in the beſt Times ſuch Pre-"ſumptions had been puniſhed with Impriſonment "by the Lords of the Council, without the King's "taking Notice of it:" Which, with what Sharpneſs ſoever uttered (in which He naturally exceeded in ſuch Occaſions), in a Caſe of this Nature, in which with Reference to any Diſreſpect towards himſelf He was not concerned, He thought did not exceed the Privilege and Dignity of the Place He held; and for which there were many Precedents in the paſt Times.

AT the preſent there was no Notice taken, nor Reply made to what He ſaid. But They who knew themſelves equally guilty, and believed They were reflected upon, found quickly Opportunity to incenſe the King, and to perſuade him to believe, "that the "Chancellor's Behaviour was a greater Affront to "him than to *Downing*: That a Servant ſhould un-"dergo ſuch Reproaches in the King's own Preſence, "for no other Reaſon but having with all Humility "preſented an Information to his Majeſty, which "was natural for him to underſtand in the Office "in which He ſerved him, and afterwards followed "and obſerved the Orders and Directions which "himſelf had preſcribed; that this muſt terrify all "Men from giving the King any Light in his Af-"fairs, that He may know Nothing of his own "neareſt Concernments but what his chief Miniſters "thought fit to impart to him." All which, and whatſoever elſe was natural to Wit ſharpened with Malice to ſuggeſt upon ſuch an Argument, They enforced with Warmth that They deſired might be taken for Zeal for his Service and Dignity, which

was

was proſtituted by thoſe Preſumptions of the Chancellor.

AND herewith They ſo inflamed the King that He was much offended, and expreſſed to them ſuch a Diſlike that pleaſed them well, and gave them Opportunity to add more Fewel to the Fire; and told (322) them, "that the Chancellor ſhould find that He was "not pleaſed," as indeed He did by a greater Reſervedneſs in his Countenance than his Majeſty uſed to carry towards him; the Reaſon whereof his Innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a ſhort Time He vouchſafed plainly to put him in Mind of his Behaviour at that Time, and to expreſs a great Reſentment of it, and urged all thoſe Gloſſes which had been made to him upon it, and "what Inter-"pretation all Men muſt make of ſuch an Action, and "be terrified by it from offering any Thing, of what "Importance ſoever to his Service, if it would offend "his Miniſters;" and all this in a Choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the Chancellor, and made him more diſcern, though He had Evidence enough of it before, that He ſtood upon very ſlippery Ground.

HE told his Majeſty, "that ſince He thought his "Behaviour to be ſo bad in that Particular, for "which till then his own Conſcience or Diſcretion "had not reproached him, He muſt and did believe "He had committed a great Fault, for which He "did humbly aſk his Pardon; and promiſed here-"after no more to incur his Diſpleaſure for ſuch Ex-"ceſſes, which He could never have fallen into at "that Time and upon that Occaſion, but upon the "Preſumption that it had been impoſſible for his "Majeſty to have made that Interpretation of it "which it ſeems He had done, or that any Body "could have Credit enough with him to perſuade "him to believe, that He deſired that his Majeſty "ſhould not have a clear View, and the moſt diſ-"cerning Inſight, into the darkeſt and moſt intri-

The Chancellor ſatisfies his Majeſty.

" cate Parts of all his Affairs, which They knew in " their Conſciences to be moſt untrue. And He muſt " with great Confidence appeal to his Majeſty, who " knew how much He had deſired, and taken ſome " Pains, that his Majeſty might never ſet his Hand " to any Thing, before He fully underſtood it upon " ſuch References and Reports, as, according to the " Nature of the Buſineſs, were to be for his full In- " formation."

He beſought him to remember " how often He " had told him, *that it was moſt abſolutely neceſſary* " *that He ſhould make himſelf entirely Maſter of his* " *own Buſineſs, for that there would be no Acquieſcence* " *in any Judgment but his own*; and that his Majeſty " knew with what Boldneſs He had often lamented " to himſelf, *that He would not take the Pains per-* " *fectly to underſtand all his own Affairs, which expoſed* " *his Miniſters to the Cenſures of half-witted Men, and* " *was the greateſt Diſcouragement to all who ſerved* " *him honeſtly:* And He deſired his Pardon again for " ſaying that He would hereafter find that They " who had adviſed him in this late Tranſaction, in " the handling whereof He had taken the Liberty " that had offended his Majeſty, had but a very dim " Inſight into that Buſineſs which They took upon " themſelves to direct."

But his Majeſty was not willing to enter again into that Diſcourſe, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, " that it was or could be in any " Men's Power to make him ſuſpect his Affection or " Integrity to his Service," and uſed many other very gracious Expreſſions to him, nor ever after ſeemed to remember that Action to his Prejudice. But within a ſhort Time the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury* becoming void by the never enough lamented Death of Dr. *Earle*, his Majeſty conferred that Biſhoprick upon Dr. *Hyde*, the Dean of *Wincheſter*, upon the Chancellor's Recommendation, whoſe near Kinſman He was. Nor was his Credit with the King thought

to

to be leſſened by any Body but himſelf, who knew more to that Purpoſe than other People could do: Yet He judged more from the Credit that He found his Enemies got every Day, than from the King's
(323) withdrawing his Truſt and Kindneſs from him; nor did the King believe that They had then that Deſign againſt him, which ſhortly after They did not diſſemble.

THE Purpoſe of making the Alteration in the Government of the Treaſury was purſued very induſtriouſly. And ſince that *Proviſo* with all the Circumſtances thereof had not produced the Effect They propoſed, for They had believed that the Indignity of the Affront would have wrought ſo far upon the great Heart of the Treaſurer, that He would thereupon have given up his Staff; which He was too much inclined to have done, if He had not been prevailed with by thoſe who He knew were his Friends, not to gratify thoſe who deſired him out of their Way, in doing that which They of all Things wiſhed: Therefore that Plot not ſucceeding, They perſuaded the King to try another Expedient. For They all knew, that it was too envious a Thing for his Majeſty himſelf to remove him from his Office by any Act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if He could be himſelf perſuaded to quit that which every Body knew He was weary of, it would prevent all Inconveniences: And They had been told that the Chancellor only had diſſuaded him from doing it, which He would not preſume to do, if He were clearly told that the King deſired that He ſhould give it up.

The King perſuaded to deſire the Treaſurer would reſign.

HEREUPON the King one Day called the Chancellor to him, and told him, "that He muſt ſpeak "with him in a Buſineſs of great Confidence, and "which required great Secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great Commendation of the Treaſurer (whom in Truth He did very much eſteem), "of his great "Parts of Judgment, of his unqueſtionable Integrity,

" and of his general Intereſt aud Reputation through-
" out the Kingdom. But with all this," He ſaid,
" He was not fit for the Office He held: That He
" did not underſtand the Myſtery of that Place, nor (324)
" could in his Nature go through with the neceſſary
" Obligations of it. That his bodily Infirmities were
" ſuch, that many Times He could not be ſpoken
" with for two or three Days, ſo that there could
" be no Diſpatch; of which every Body complained,
" and by which his Buſineſs ſuffered very much.
" That all Men knew that all the Buſineſs was done
" by Sir *Philip Warwick*, whom, though He was a
" very honeſt Man, He did not think fit to be
" Treaſurer; which He was to all Effects, the Trea-
" ſurer himſelf doing Nothing but ſigning the Papers
" which the other prepared for him, which was nei-
" ther for the King's Honour nor his." The Truth was, that his Underſtanding was too fine for ſuch groſs Matters as that Office muſt be converſant about, and that if his Want of Health did not hinder him, his Genius did not carry him that Way; nor would the Lazineſs of his Nature permit him to take that Pains, that was abſolutely neceſſary for the well diſcharging that great Office.

The King wiſhes the Chancellor to adviſe him to it.

His Majeſty concluded, " that He loved him too
" well to diſoblige him, and would never do any
" Thing that would not be grateful to him: But
" He had ſome Reaſon, even from what He had
" ſometimes ſaid to him, to think that He was weary
" of it, and might be eaſily perſuaded to deliver
" up his Staff, which his Majeſty would be very
" glad of; and therefore He wiſhed that He, the
" Chancellor, who was known to have moſt Intereſt
" in him, would perſuade him to it, in which He
" would do his Majeſty a ſingular Service."

The Chancellor preſently aſked him, " if He were
" ſo unfit, whom He would make Treaſurer in his
" Room." The King as preſently anſwered, " that
" He would never make another Treaſurer, which

" was

" was an Office of great Charge, and would be much
" more effectually executed by Commiſſioners; which
" had been done in *Cromwell's* Time, as many Offices
(324) " had been: And that his Majeſty found by Expe-
" rience, that in Offices of that Kind Commiſſioners
" were better than ſingle Officers; for though Sir
" *William Compton* was a very extraordinary Man, of
" great Induſtry and Fidelity, yet that the Office of
" the Ordnance was neither in ſo good Order nor ſo
" thriftily managed whilſt He was Maſter of it, as it
" hath been ſince his Death, ſince when it hath been
" governed by Commiſſioners; and ſo He was well
" aſſured his Treaſury would be."

THE Chancellor replied, " that He was very ſorry
" to find his Majeſty ſo much inclined to Com-
" miſſioners, who were indeed fitteſt to execute all
" Offices according to the Model of a Commonwealth,
" but not at all agreeable to Monarchy: That if He
" thought the Precedent of *Cromwell's* Time fit to be
" followed, He ſhould be in the Poſture that *Crom-*
" *well* was, with an Army of one hundred thouſand
" Men, which made him have no Need of the Au-
" thority and Reputation of a Treaſurer, either to
" ſettle his Revenue or to direct the levying it; He
" could do Both beſt himſelf." But He very paſſion-
ately beſought his Majeſty to believe, " that They
" who adviſed him to this Method of Government,
" though They might have good Affection to his
" Perſon and his Service, were very unſkilful in the
" Conſtitution of this Kingdom and in the Nature of
" the People. That the Office of Treaſurer had
" ſometimes upon the Death of a preſent Officer been
" executed by Commiſſioners, but very ſeldom for
" any Time, or longer than whilſt the King could
" deliberately make Choice of a fit Miniſter. That
" himſelf had been twice a Commiſſioner for the
" Treaſury, once in the Time of his Father, and
" again upon his Majeſty's Return: And therefore
" that He could upon Experience aſſure him, that
" Com-

" Commiſſioners, in ſo active a Time as this, could " never diſcharge the Duty of that Office; and that (325)
" the Dignity of the Perſon of the Treaſurer was moſt " neceſſary for his Service, both towards the procu- " ring the raiſing of Money in Parliament, and the " improving his Revenue by the Grant of Additions " there, as likewiſe for the collecting and conducting " it afterwards. For the preſent Treaſurer," He ſaid, " there was no Queſtion but if He knew that his " Majeſty was weary of his Service, and wiſhed to " have the Staff out of his Hand, He would moſt " readily deliver it: But that They who gave the " Counſel, and thought it fit for his Majeſty's Ser- " vice, were much fitter to give him that Advertiſe- " ment, than He who in his Conſcience did believe, " that the following it would be of the moſt pernicious " Conſequence to his Service of any Thing that could " be done."

The Chancellor earneſtly petitions him againſt this Meaſure.

He moſt humbly and with much Earneſtneſs beſought his Majeſty " ſeriouſly to reflect, what an ill " Savour it would have over the whole Kingdom, " at this Time of a War with at leaſt two powerful " Enemies abroad together, of ſo great a Diſcontent " and Jealouſy at Home, and when the Court was " in no great Reputation with the People, to re- " move a Perſon the moſt loved and reverenced by " the People for his moſt exemplary Fidelity and " Wiſdom, who had deſerved as much from his " bleſſed Father and himſelf as a Subject can do " from his Prince, a Nobleman of the beſt Quality, " the beſt allied and the beſt beloved; to remove " at ſuch a Time ſuch a Perſon and with ſuch Cir- " cumſtances from his Councils and his Truſt: For " Nobody could imagine, that, after ſuch a Ma- " nifeſtation of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, He would " be again converſant in the Court or in the Council, " Both which would be much leſs eſteemed upon " ſuch an Action. That many with the ſame Diſ- " eaſes and Infirmities had long executed that Office,

" which

"which required more the Strength of the Mind than
(325) "of the Body: All were obliged to attend him, and
"He only to wait upon his Majeſty."

"THAT it was impoſſible for any Man to diſcharge "that Office without a Secretary: And if the whole "Kingdom had been to have preferred a Secretary to "him, They would have commended this Gentle- "man to him whom He truſted, who had for many "Years ſerved a former Treaſurer in the ſame Truſt, "in the moſt malignant, captious and calumniating "Time that hath been known, and yet without the "leaſt Blemiſh or Imputation; and who, ever ſince "that Time, had ſerved his Father in and to the "End of the War, and himſelf ſince in the moſt "ſecret and dangerous Affairs" (for He had been truſted by the Perſons of the greateſt Quality to hold Intelligence with his Majeſty to the Time of his Return); "ſo that all Men rather expected to have "found him preferred to ſome good Place, than in "the ſame Poſt He had been in twenty Years before; "which He would never have undertaken under any "other Officer than one with whom He had much "Confidence, and who He knew would ſerve his "Majeſty ſo well. Yet," He ſaid, "that whoever "knew them could never believe that Sir *Philip War-* "*wick* could govern the Lord Treaſurer."

THE King ſaid, "He had a very good Opinion of "Sir *Philip Warwick*, and had never heard any Thing "to his Prejudice." But upon the main Point of the Debate He ſeemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good Fortune the Duke of *York* came into the Room, who had been well prepared to like the King's Purpoſe and to believe it neceſſary; and therefore his Majeſty was glad of his Preſence, and called him to him, and told him what He had been ſpeaking of; and the Chancellor informed him of all that had paſſed between the King and him, and told him, "that He could never do a "better Service to the King his Brother, than by "uſing

"uſing his Credit with him to reſtrain him from pro-
"ſecuting a Purpoſe that would prove ſo miſchievous
"to him." And ſo the Diſcourſe was renewed: And in the End the Duke was ſo entirely converted, that He prevailed with his Majeſty to lay aſide the Thought of it; which ſo broke all the Meaſures the other Contrivers had formed their Counſels by, that They were much out of Countenance. But finding that They could not work upon the Duke to change his Mind, and to return to the former Reſolution, They thought not fit to preſs the King farther for the preſent; and only made ſo much Uſe of their Want of Succeſs, by preſenting to his Majeſty his Irreſoluteneſs, which made the Chancellor ſtill impoſe upon him, that the King did not think the better of the Chancellor or the Treaſurer, for his receding at that Time from proſecuting what He had ſo poſitively reſolved to have done, and promiſed them "to be firmer to his next Determi-
"nation."

And at length prevails.

After *Chriſtmas* the Rage and Fury of the Peſtilence began in ſome Degree to be mitigated, but ſo little, that Nobody who had left the Town had yet the Courage to return thither: Nor had They Reaſon; for though it was a conſiderable Abatement from the Height it had been at, yet there died ſtill between three and four thouſand in the Week, and of thoſe, ſome Men of better Condition than had fallen before. The General writ from thence, "that there ſtill aroſe new
"Difficulties in providing for the ſetting out the Fleet,
"and ſome of ſuch a Nature, that He could not eaſily
"remove them without Communication with his Ma-
"jeſty, and receiving his more poſitive Directions;
"and how to bring that to paſs He knew not, for as
"He could by no Means adviſe his Majeſty to leave
"*Oxford*, ſo He found many Objections againſt his
"own being abſent from *London*." *Windſor* was thought upon as a Place where the King might ſafely reſide, there being then no Infection there: But the King had adjourned the Term thither, which had (320)
poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed the whole Town; and He was not without ſome Apprehenſion, that the Plague had got into one Houſe.

IN the End, towards the End of *February*, the King reſolved that the Queen and Dutcheſs and all their Families ſhould remain in *Oxford*; and that his Majeſty and his Brother, with Prince *Rupert*, and ſuch of his Council and other Servants as were thought neceſſary or fit, would make a quick Journey to *Hampton-Court*, where the General might be every Day and return again to *London* at Night, and his Majeſty give ſuch Orders as were requiſite for the carrying on his Service, and ſo after two or three Days Stay there return again to *Oxford*; for no Man did believe it counſellable, that his Majeſty ſhould reſide longer there, than the Diſpatch of the moſt important Buſineſs required: And with this Reſolution his Majeſty made his Journey to *Hampton-Court*. *The King removes from* Oxford *to* Hampton-Court.

IT pleaſed God, that the next Week after his Majeſty came thither, the Number of thoſe who died of the Plague in the City decreaſed one thouſand; and there was a ſtrange univerſal Joy there for the King's being ſo near. The Weather was as it could be wiſhed, deep Snow and terrible Froſt, which very probably ſtopped the ſpreading of the Infection, though it might put an End to thoſe who were already infected, as it did, for in a Week or two the Number of the Dead was very little diminiſhed. The General came and went as was intended: But the Buſineſs every Day increaſed; and his Majeſty's Remove to a farther Diſtance was thought inconvenient, ſince there appeared no Danger in remaining where He was. *The Plague decreaſes.*

AND after a Fortnight's or three Weeks Stay, He reſolved, for the quicker Diſpatch of all that was to be done, to go to *Whitehall*, when there died above fifteen hundred in the Week, and when there was not in a Day ſeen a Coach in the Streets, but thoſe which came in his Majeſty's Train; ſo much all Men were terrified from returning to a Place of ſo much Mortality. *The King returns to* Whitehall.

Yet

Yet it can hardly be imagined, what Numbers flocked thither from all Parts upon the Fame of the King's being at *Whitehall*, all Men being ashamed of their Fears for their own Safety, when the King ventured his Person. The Judges at *Windsor* adjourned the last Return of the Term to *Westminster-Hall*, and the Town every Day filled marvellously; and which was more wonderful, the Plague every Day decreased. Upon which the King changed his Purpose, and instead of returning to *Oxford*, sent for the Queen and all the Family to come to *Whitehall*: So that before the End of *March* the Streets were as full, the *Exchange* as much crowded, and the People in all Places as numerous, as They had ever been seen, few Persons missing any of their Acquaintance, though by the weekly Bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand Persons: And many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in Truth double the Number who died; and that in one Week, when the Bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in Truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent Deaths of the Clerks and Sextons of Parishes hindered the exact Account of every Week; but that which left it without any Certainty was the vast Number that was buried in the Fields, of which no Account was kept. Then of the *Anabaptists* and other Sectaries, who abounded in the City, very few left their Habitations; and Multitudes of them died, whereof no Church-warden or other Officer had Notice; but They found Burials, according to their own Fancies, in small Gardens or the next Fields. The greatest Number of those who died consisted of Women and Children, and the lowest and poorest Sort of the People: So that, as I said before, few Men missed (327) any of their Acquaintance when They returned, not many of Wealth or Quality or of much Conversation being dead; yet some of either Sort there were.

The Number supposed to have died of the Plague.

Preparations for setting out the Fleet again.

The Business of the King and of all about him was, that the Fleet might be ready and at Sea with all the possible

poſſible Expedition: And in or towards this there was leſs Diſturbance and Interruption than could reaſonably have been expected, an univerſal Cheerfulneſs appearing in all who could obſtruct or contribute towards it, the People generally being abundantly ſatisfied in the King's Choice of the Commanders. Prince *Rupert* was very much beloved, for his confeſſed Courage, by the Seamen; and the People believed that They could not but have the Victory where the General commanded, who only underwent Unquietneſs and Vexation from the tempeſtuous Humour of his Wife. She, from his Return from *Oxford*, and from the Time that She had the firſt Intimation that the King had deſigned her Huſband for the Command of the Fleet, was all Storm and Fury; and, according to the Wiſdom and Modeſty of her Nature, poured out a thouſand full-mouthed Curſes againſt all thoſe who had contributed to that Counſel: But the Malice of all that Tempeſt fell upon the Chancellor. She declared, "that this was a Plot of his to remove her Huſband "from the King, that He might do what He had a "Mind to;" and threw all the ill Words at him which She had been accuſtomed to hear, accompanied with her good Wiſhes of what She would have befall him. But the Company She kept, and the Converſation She was accuſtomed to, could not propagate the Reproaches far; and the poor General himſelf felt them moſt, who knew the Chancellor to be his very faſt and faithful Friend, and that He would not be leſs ſo becauſe his Wife was no wiſer than She was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking Pains Night and Day, that the Fleet might be at Sea.

THE Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, was already gone to *Breſt*, and had taken Leave of the King at *Paris*, whither He was not to return till after the Summer's Service at Sea, and had appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships to be at *Breſt* by the Middle of *March*, which They reported ſhould conſiſt of fifty Ships of War. *The French Fleet prepared.*

THE

Denmark *joins the* Dutch.

THE Rupture was declared on Both Sides with *Denmark*. The King had appeared much troubled at the ill Accident at *Bergen*, which had fallen out merely by the Accidents of Weather, which had hindered the poſitive Orders from arriving in the preciſe Time: And He ſeemed ſtill reſolved to detain the *Dutch* Ships there, and only to fear the Conjunction of the *Swede* with the *Hollander*, which the King's Agent, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, aſſured him He need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. *Clifford*, who had been preſent at *Bergen*, and is before mentioned to be ſent after that by the King to *Denmark*, went from thence into *Sweden* (where Mr. *Coventry* yet remained) with a Project of ſuch a Treaty as would have been with little Alterations conſented to in *Sweden*, who had good Inclinations to the King, and reſolved to join with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, when He ſhould advance according to his Engagement. But the *Daniſh* Reſident in *Sweden* delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received leſs poſitive Orders than the Nature of the Affair required, and that He expected fuller: And ſo all Matters were deferred, till Ambaſſadours came from *Holland* with no Expoſtulations, and a Deſire to renew their Alliance, and releaſe ſome Engagements They had upon the *Sound*, which had been very grievous to the *Dane*; and many other Conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An Ambaſſadour likewiſe arrived in the Nick of Time from *France*, to diſpoſe them to a Conjunction with *Holland*, and to warrant the Performance of whatſoever the *Hollander* ſhould promiſe, and likewiſe to undertake that *France* (328) would protect them againſt *England*, and therefore that They ſhould not apprehend any Danger from a War from thence; and *De Ruyter* was now gone with the Fleet for *Bergen*.

UPON all theſe Motives concurring in the ſame Conjuncture, the poor King embraced that Party; and then declared and complained, "that the *Engliſh* had "broken the Law of Nations in violating the Peace

"of

"of his Ports, and endeavouring to fire his Town, "when They were hoſpitably received and treated there "under the Protection of his Caſtle." He denied that He had ever made ſuch an Offer or Promiſe as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* ſtill charged him with; and which He had not denied to Mr. *Clifford* when He came firſt thither. But now He reproached Sir *Gilbert Talbot* "for falſi-"fying his Words, at leaſt for miſtaking them, and "ſending that to the King his Maſter which He gave "him no Liberty to do." And now Sir *Gilbert* found his Errour in not having drawn from him or his Servant *Gabell*, in Writing, ſome Evidence of the Engagement: But after many Indignities He left the Court and returned to *England*. All *Engliſh* Ships in *Denmark* or *Norway* were ſeized upon; and the Perſons of all Merchants and others who were his Majeſty's Subjects, and to ſome of whom the King of *Denmark* owed great Sums of Money which They had lent to him, were impriſoned, and their Goods ſeized and confiſcated.

ALL which Proceedings provoked the King to give the like Orders, and to look upon them as Enemies, and to emit a Declaration of the Motive He had to ſend his Fleet to *Bergen*, "which He could never have "done but upon the Invitation and Promiſe of that "King; which was evident enough by the Reception "his Ships had there, and Expectation the Governour "had of their Arrival, and his Allegation, *that He* "*expected that very Night fuller Orders than He had yet* "*received*; and laſtly, his ſuffering them to depart ſe-"curely, after all the Acts of Hoſtility had paſſed in "the Port." Much of this was denied with many indecent Expreſſions, and ſuch Evaſions as made all that was ſaid believed by equal Conſiderers: And ſo the War was declared.

AND then in the Beginning of the Year 1666, a Year long deſtined by all Aſtrologers for the Production of diſmal Changes and Alterations throughout the World, and by ſome for the End of it, the King found his

his Condition ſo much worſe than it had been the laſt Year, as the Addition of *France* and *Denmark* could make it; againſt all which, and the Prodigies which the Year was to produce (and it did truly produce many), the King prepared with his accuſtomed Vigour and Reſolution, though the Predictions had a ſtrange Operation upon vulgar Minds.

Negotiations of the French *at this Time.*

THE Proclamation of the War in *France*, and the Seizure upon the Eſtates of the *Engliſh* with ſome Circumſtances in the Point of Time, and other Actions very unjuſt and unuſual, the great maritime Preparations there, and the viſible Aſſiſtance of Force that was ſent thence to the *Dutch*, did not trouble nor hurt the King ſo much as the ſecret and inviſible Negotiations of that Crown. From the firſt Declaration of the Biſhop of *Munſter* of his Reſolution to make a War upon *Holland* (with which He acquainted the King of *France* before He declared it, and received ſuch an Anſwer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his firſt Addreſs to the King of *Great Britain*) that He ſhould meet with no Obſtruction from thence; and upon that Confidence the Treaty was concluded with the King, and great Sums of Money paid to the Biſhop upon his Promiſe and Engagement, "that He would fix himſelf with his Army within the "Territories of the *States General* before the Winter "was ended; and that againſt the Spring, when the "King's Fleet ſhould be ready for the Sea, He would "at the ſame Time march with an Army of twenty "thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe into the "Heart of their Country;" and what the Effect of that would have been in that Conjuncture may be in ſome Degree gueſſed at by what hath ſince fallen out): I ſay, *France*, from the firſt Knowledge They had of his Purpoſe, and before They declared on the Behalf of the *Dutch*, ſecretly ſent to the neighbour Princes "not to join with the Biſhop, and to do all that was "in their Power to hinder his Levies;" and prevailed with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had given Hopes

They deter the neighbouring States from aſſiſting the Biſhop of Munſter.

Hopes to the Biſhop of a powerful Aſſiſtance upon the Expectation of the Reſtoration of *Weſel*, and other Towns then poſſeſſed by *Holland*, totally to decline any Conjunction with him, upon Promiſe "that He "ſhould find his own Account better from the Friend-"ſhip of *France*." The Dukes of *Lunenburg*, who had made the Biſhop believe that They would join with him, and had made Levies of Soldiers to that Purpoſe, having abundant Argument of Quarrel with *Holland*, were now perſuaded by the ſame Way not only to deſiſt from helping, but to declare themſelves Enemies to the Biſhop if He would not deſiſt, and "that They would ſerve the *Dutch* with their Forces."

WHEN all this could not diſcourage the Biſhop from proſecuting his Intention, but that He ſtill gathered Troops, and gave new Commiſſions to Officers who had prepared for their Levies farther in *Germany*; the King of *France* ſent an Envoy expreſsly to the Biſhop himſelf, and offered his Mediation and Interpoſition with the *Dutch*, "that They ſhould do him all "the Right that in Juſtice He could demand from "them, and if this were not accepted by him, that "He muſt expect what Prejudice the Arms of *France* "could bring upon him;" and then ſent to all thoſe Princes who had permitted Levies to be made in their Countries, "that They ſhould not ſuffer thoſe Troops "to march out of their Country," but offered "to "receive and entertain them in his own Army." With this He ſent to the other Princes of *Germany* and to the Emperour himſelf, "that if They did not prevent this "Incurſion of the Biſhop of *Munſter*" (to which They all wiſhed well), "They would involve the Empire "in a War."

WHEN all this could not terrify the Biſhop, who defended himſelf by his Engagement to the King of *Great Britain*, "that He would not enter into Treaty "nor give over his Enterpriſe without his Conſent," and drew his Forces together to a Rendezvous, and had got Permiſſion from the Marquis of *Caſtelle Rode-*

rigo, then Governour of *Flanders*, to make Levies in thoſe Provinces without Noiſe or avowing it, and marched with his Army into the *States* Dominions, and took a Place or two even in the Sight of Prince *Maurice* (who drew as many of the *States* Troops together as could be ſpared out of their Garriſons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after He had found in ſome light Skirmiſhes that They were not firm); ſo that the Biſhop, by the Advantage of the Situation of which He was poſſeſſed, began to faſten himſelf in full Aſſurance of increaſing his Army, in Spite of all Diſcouragements, before the Spring (and He had already received ſome Troops out of *Flanders*, and Advertiſement from other of his Officers, that They were well advanced in their Levies): The King of *France* in this Conjuncture, in the imperious Style He cuſtomarily uſed in thoſe Caſes, ſent to the Governour of *Flanders* for a Licenſe for ſuch Troops, as He had Occaſion to ſend into *Germany*, to paſs through ſuch a Part of his Government; which as He had no Mind to grant, ſo He durſt not deny, having Orders from (339) *Spain* to be very careful, that no Diſguſts might be given to *France* which might give any Occaſion, or Pretence, or Opportunity for a Breach, which They well knew was deſired and longed for.

Upon this Permiſſion the *French* Troops marched into *Flanders*: And in the firſt Place, whether in their Way or out of their Way, They fell upon the Levies which were made for the Biſhop, and routed and diſperſed them, or took them Priſoners. In one Place, by the Strength of their Quarter and a neighbour Church, They defended themſelves, imagining the Country would relieve them, without ſuſpecting that They had Licenſe and Permiſſion to march through: But They were ſo much inferiour in Number or Strength, that after ſome of them were killed, the reſt were glad to throw down their Arms and become Priſoners at Mercy, the Officers not comprehending what declared Enemy could fall upon them in thoſe Quarters.

ters. With this Triumph They marched, and joined with Prince *Maurice* by the Time the Biſhop had Notice of the Diſaſter, and ſpeedily advanced upon his Quarters, and beat ſome of his Troops.

UPON which the poor Biſhop (who inſtead of the Supplies and Commiſſions and other Countenance that He had Reaſon to expect from thoſe Princes, who had been privy and with great Promiſes encouraged his Enterpriſe, received every Day Arguments from them againſt his proceeding farther, with many Conjurations that He would entirely ſubmit to the King of *France* his Determination) found himſelf neceſſitated to comply, and even heartbroken ſigned a Treaty with the *French*, who then were careful enough both of his Honour and Intereſt in the Conditions with the *Dutch*, as for an Ally of whom They meant to make more Uſe in another Conjuncture. Upon all which the Biſhop had been much more excuſable, if He had not received ſome of the King's Money, even after He ſaw that He ſhould be obliged to ſign the Treaty; which He ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before He had any ſuch Intention, and to which it cannot be denied He had moſt forcible Compulſions.

And at length force him to make a Peace with the Dutch.

THIS was the moſt ſenſible Blow, but the Plague, that the King had felt from the Beginning of the War, and was Inſtance enough how terrible the King of *France* was to all the neighbour Kings and Princes, who had ſo ſuddenly departed from their own Inclinations and Reſolutions and from their own Intereſt, only upon his Inſinuations, which became Orders to them. And *Spain*, if They knew that which all the World beſides diſcerned, could not but believe that *France* would break all Treaties as ſoon as the other King ſhould die, the News of which was expected and provided for every Week. But the drowſy Temper of that Monarch, who had been ſo much diſquieted throughout his whole Reign, extended ſo far only as to prepare a Stock of Peace that would laſt during his own Time,

that He ſaw would be very ſhort, and to leave his Dominions and his infant Son to ſhift for themſelves when He was dead: And it was an unhappy Maxim of that State, that it was the beſt Huſbandry to purchaſe preſent Peace and preſent Money at how dear Intereſt ſoever for the future, which would be aſſiſted with ſome new Expedients, as *Spain* had always been.

The King deſirous of uniting with Holland *againſt* France.

ALL theſe Diſadvantages made the King the more ſolicitous to have but one Enemy to ſtruggle with, though it were *France:* And therefore He was very ſolicitous by all Ways He could deviſe to make Peace with *Holland*, and to leave *Denmark* to their own Inventions; and He had ſome Encouragement to believe, that it was not impoſſible to ſeparate *Holland* from *France.* They were ſenſible enough, that They had been upon the Matter betrayed into the War, by the (331) poſitive Promiſe of Aſſiſtance, and a firm Conjunction from *France* in the Inſtant that the War ſhould be entered upon, without any Mention of Mediation or Interpoſition for Peace, which was againſt their Deſire; and that They had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleaſed to ſee them beaten, and their own People ready to riſe againſt the Government. Then They knew that *France* did already provide for an Expedition againſt *Flanders*, which could not long defend itſelf with its own Forces; and that They depended upon this War between *England* and the *Dutch*, as what muſt hinder Both thoſe Nations from giving it Aſſiſtance: And They as well knew what their own Portion muſt be, when that Screen was removed, that was their beſt Security againſt ſo mighty a Neighbour. And this *De Wit* himſelf, who was the chief Supporter of the War, frequently obſerved and confeſſed to thoſe with whom He had moſt Converſation, and in whom He was believed to have moſt Truſt: And all thoſe Advertiſements were tranſmitted to the King by thoſe whoſe Integrity could not be ſuſpected, and who did not diſſemble, being of the *States* themſelves, to be very deſirous of Peace and very jealous of *France.*

The Dutch *jealous of* France.

THERE

THERE was a Gentleman, one *Monſieur Bewett*, of a good Family in *France* and born there, but long bred in *Holland* whilſt the Wars were there, and who had been Captain in the laſt Prince of *Orange's* Horſe-Guards, and in very particular Favour with him, by which He was married to a Woman of *Holland* very rich, and very nearly allied to many of thoſe who had the greateſt Influence upon the Government; and who was now looked upon rather as a *Dutchman* than a *Frenchman*, and converſed moſt familiarly amongſt the *Burgomaſters*, and other principal Perſons of the *States*. And by this Intereſt, after the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, that Troop was ſtill preſerved for a Guard to the *States*, and was the only Horſe-Troop that remained conſtantly in the *Hague*. And for the better pleaſing the People, it was ſtill called the Prince of *Orange's* Guard, and continued to wear the ſame Livery it had always done: And the young Prince took much Delight to ſee them, and to hear himſelf called by them their Captain; and the Commander thereof, *Bewett*, profeſſed and paid the ſame Devotion to him that He had done to his Father.

Character of M. Bewett *a Gentleman of great Weight in* Holland.

THIS Gentleman was generally beloved, and held a Man of great Sincerity, brave in Point of Courage, and of good Parts of Wit and Judgment, ſave that He was immoderately given to Wine and to the Exceſs of it, which, being the Diſeaſe or rather the Health of the Country, made him not the worſe thought of or leſs fit for Buſineſs. He was well known to the King, and well thought of by him, and had great Familiarity with ſome of the Bedchamber, and others near the King and truſted by him. He had made a Journey once, ſince the King's Return into *England*, only to kiſs his Hand, and profeſs the ſame Affection and Duty He had often done when his Majeſty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

HE was a bold Speaker, and from the Time that the War was begun againſt *England* much inveighed againſt the Counſel that perſuaded it, as very pernicious to the Affairs of that Country; and in this Argu-

ment uſed not more Freedom with any than with *De Wit* himſelf, who loved his Perſon and his Spirit, and converſed very freely with him, though He knew his Friendſhips were chiefly with the Dependents upon the Houſe of *Orange*, and with others of the *States* who were of his own Opinion with Reference to the War: And the publiſhing his Opinion drew many of the greateſt Intereſt amongſt the *Burgomaſters* to delight in his Converſation, and to truſt him much. With thoſe He conſulted freely what Means ſhould be uſed to procure a Peace, and prevent the Miſchief that muſt attend the Continuance of the War, with good Senſe and Judgment: But thoſe Conſultations were always in the Exerciſe of Drinking, which never ended without the utmoſt Exceſs, though without Noiſe or Diſquiet or Unkindneſs, which are never the Effects of thoſe Exceſſes amongſt that People.

AFTER the firſt Battle, when the *Dutch* were ſo much beaten, and the People in that Conſternation that They called aloud for Peace, and reviled all thoſe who were thought to be againſt it, and amongſt thoſe *De Wit* principally, who had the more Enemies, and Peace the more Friends, for the Differences which had ariſen amongſt the Officers of the Fleet upon the Death of *Opdam*, and upon the Diſgrace which *Trump* had undergone by the Power and Injuſtice, as They ſaid, of *De Wit* upon perſonal Diſlike, and becauſe He was known to have great Affection for the Prince of *Orange* (and *Van Trump* himſelf, as hath been ſaid, was not only of much Intereſt amongſt the Seamen, but very popular in the Government, and had his Siſters married to *Burgomaſters* in ſome of the greateſt Towns; ſo that the Diſgrace of him increaſed the Number of *De Wit's* Enemies): In this Conjuncture *Bewett* cultivated the beſt He could all thoſe ill Humours, how mutinous ſoever, which grew moſt importunate for Peace; yet without any Reflection upon the Perſon of *De Wit*, with whom He was known by the Company He moſt kept to have much Familiarity, and whom He did at

His Endeavours to bring about a Peace.

that

that Time really believe to be inclined to Peace, and declared He did think ſo to thoſe who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worſe of him for being deceived, being aſſured He would never deceive them for Want of Integrity.

BUT He took Advantage of this general Diſtemper and of the Prejudice the People had againſt him, to talk very frankly to *De Wit* of Both; and admired, "ſince He did, as He profeſſed, deſire Peace, that "He would not find ſome Way to undeceive the Peo- "ple, which was neceſſary for his own Security; and "it might eaſily be effected, by giving a Beginning "to ſuch a Conſultation as might look towards an Ac- "commodation." *De Wit* had his Spies in all Places, and knew well what Company *Bewett* moſt delighted in, though his Acquaintance was univerſal and agreeable to all Men: And He was informed too of his particular Behaviour with Reference to him, and that He did conſtantly and confidently vindicate him from many Imputations, in the Preſence of thoſe who were not pleaſed with his Contradictions; ſo that He looked upon him as his Friend, and one that might by his Intereſt and Credit divert ſome of that popular Envy and Malice, of which He had no Contempt, but much Apprehenſion.

HE renewed his former Profeſſions of his Deſire of Peace, and gave ſo good Reaſons for it as might naturally gain Belief; amongſt which one was always a vehement Jealouſy of *France*, "which," He ſaid, "though it had at laſt declared War againſt *Eng-* "*land*, which They ought to have done ſo long be- "fore, had done it only to draw *England* into ſome "Conditions which might facilitate their own Enter- "priſe upon *Flanders*, which it concerned them to pre- "vent by all the Ways poſſible; of which none would "be ſo probable as a Peace between *England* and them, "which would immediately make each ſolicitous for "their own Intereſt. But how to ſet any Thing on "Foot that might contribute to this He knew not; "and

De Wit *pretends to deſire a Peace.*

"and the doing that which the other had propoſed, by "declaring himſelf, was the Way only to ſlacken all (333) "the Proviſions for War, the expediting of which "would moſt advance a Peace."

BEWETT replied, "that He knew He had many "Friends in the *Engliſh* Court, whereof ſome were of "near Truſt about his Majeſty, for whoſe Secrecy He "would be accountable;" and named the Lord *Arlington*, who had lately married a Lady of the *Hague*, the Daughter of *Monſieur Beverwaert*, a Perſon in his Quality and Fortune in the firſt Rank. He offered to him, "that He would himſelf write ſuch a Letter to "the Lord *Arlington* in his own Name, which He ſhould "firſt ſee and approve, without which He would not "ſend it, as ſhould only teſtify his own good Wiſhes "for a Peace between the two Nations, which were "not unknown to the King himſelf; and would make "no other Mention of him, than that He had Reaſon "to believe, that *Monſieur De Wit* (in whoſe good "Opinion He had the Honour to be known to have "ſome Place) would not be unwilling to promote any "good Overture that ſhould be made." After ſome Debate He was content that He ſhould write, provided that He would promiſe to write Nothing but what He ſhould firſt ſee, and would ſtill bring the Anſwers to him which He ſhould receive; to which the other conſented.

Bewett enters into a Correſpondence with the Engliſh *Court with* De Wit's *Conſent.*

UPON this Encouragement He begun his Correſpondence with the Lord *Arlington*, and acquainted his Boſom-Friends with it, to diſpoſe them the more to hope for Peace, and to look upon *De Wit* as not averſe to it. But what He writ was with ſo much Warineſs, being dictated upon the Matter by the Penſioner, that it could draw no other Anſwers from the Secretary but of the ſame Style, with Expreſſions of his Majeſty's Deſire of Peace and Eſteem of *De Wit*, and as if He expected ſome Overtures to ariſe from thence. This Intelligence had not been long on Foot, but He begun to ſuſpect the Sincerity of *De Wit*, and that indeed He

He ſoon ſuſpects De Wit's *Sincerity.*

was

was not ſo well inclined to Peace as He had pretended to be: His Countenance was not ſo open, nor He ſo vacant when He came as He uſed to be; He grew leſs jealous of the *French*, and more compoſed himſelf, and leſs apprehenſive of the People, as He found them more compoſed, and a greater Concurrence in the making all Things ready for the Fleet. All which Obſervations He likewiſe imparted to his Companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that Time He was apter to concur with them in the fiercer Counſels, how to compaſs a Peace in Spite of him by a Majority of Votes in the *States*, with the Help of the People, for the Suppreſſion of any accidental Inſurrection whereof, there were no other Forces in View than thoſe Horſe-Guards that were commanded by himſelf.

And reſolves to get a Peace in Oppoſition to him.

HEREUPON He took a new Reſolution, but would not loſe the Advantage He had by the Knowledge *De Wit* had of his Correſpondence, and therefore ſhewed him a Letter that He had received from the Lord *Arlington*, in which He preſſed him "to inform him, "what Particulars would diſpoſe the *States* to Peace "and to ſeparate from the *French*," and had ſent him a Cipher for the more free and ſafe Communication; which Cipher He depoſited in the Hands of *De Wit*, having received his Directions and obſerved them by uſing the ſame Cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the Anſwer to put an End to that Correſpondence, of which He grew weary, and leſs confident of the Perſon, becauſe He heard that He was grown leſs zealous in his Defence than He had been.

He ſettles a ſecret Correſpondence with the Engliſh *Court.*

BEWETT upon this grew more reſolute one Way and leſs apprehenſive the other Way, and ſent a Perſon with whom He had great Friendſhip, and who was well known to the King and moſt about him, *Monſieur Silvius*, a Servant to the late Princeſs Royal, and a Native of *Orange*, with a full Account "of the "State of the Counſels at the *Hague*, and his Diſco-

"very

"very that *De Wit* did not in Truth desire a Peace, "nor would consent to it but upon very unreasonable "Terms," whereof some were mentioned in his Letter in Cipher which He had dictated; "but that He was "most assured, that He should be compelled at the "next Assembly of the *States* to submit to more rea- "sonable Conditions." He gave the King an Account of the Ground of his Confidence, and an Information of the Persons who were combined together to press it in the *States*, amongst which there were some of the greatest Power: And by their Advice He offered the Substance of a Message They wished the King should send to the *States General* at the Time of their convening, in which there was Nothing contained against which any Thing could be objected on his Majesty's Behalf; and "upon the Delivery thereof there would "so few adhere to *De Wit*, that He should not be able "to prevent a Treaty though *France* should protest "against it." He sent likewise at the same Time, and by the same Person, another Cipher to the Lord *Arlington*, with Direction "that in such Letters as were "intended for the View of the Pensioner the former "Cipher should be used, and in the other Letters, "which were to be concealed from him, and which "were for the most Part to contain Intelligence and "Advice against him, the latter Cipher was only to "be made Use of."

THOSE Informations by *Silvius*, who was a Man of Parts, and had Dependence upon the Duke of *York*, and meant not to return into *Holland* except upon a pressing Occasion, when He durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an Inhabitant of the *Hague*, having been always bred there, and his Relation to the Duke scarce yet taken Notice of; I say, those Informations the King thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the Chancellor upon the Whole, and appointed the Lord *Arlington* to inform him of all that had passed from the Beginning; and that *Silvius*, who was concealed, that They might have

no

no Advertiſement in *Holland* of his having been in *England*, ſhould likewiſe attend him in ſome Evening; which He ſhortly after did, and made him an ample and clear Relation of the State of the Counſels at the *Hague*, and the ſeveral Factions amongſt them, and the Diſtemper of the People. He had himſelf ſpoken with many of the *Burgomaſters* and others in Authority, who were privy to his Coming, and communicated the Method They meant to proceed in towards the depreſſing *De Wit*, by mingling the Propoſition for Peace with the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which the People thought to be inſeparable.

IN Fine, He gave a perfect good Account of all to which He was inſtructed, with great Modeſty: And when the Chancellor, to whom *Bewett* and He were Both well known, would have induced him to deliver Somewhat of his own Judgment, whether He thought that Combination to be ſtrong enough to over-rule *De Wit*; He could draw no other Anſwer from him than the magnifying the Credit and Intereſt of *Bewett*, which He ſeemed principally to rely upon, and the Impoſſibility that He ſhould fail in Point of Integrity or Courage.

SILVIUS had ſettled a ſure Way of Correſpondence, and by every Poſt received freſh Intelligence of the Preparations and Progreſs *Bewett* and his Friends made in their Deſigns, of the Succeſs whereof They were every Day more confident, and thought their Party ſo much to increaſe, that as They did not apprehend any Diſcovery like to be made by Treachery, ſo They did not ſeem to fear it, if *De Wit* himſelf
335) ſhould know all that They intended: And They preſſed very earneſtly, "that the King's Letter, in "the Manner They had propoſed, might be at the "*Hague* when the *General States* were to meet," the Time whereof approached.

THE King called thoſe to him to whom the whole Negotiation had been imparted, to adviſe what was

to

to be done. On the King's Part Nothing was conſiderable, but whether He ſhould write to the *States* at all, and what He ſhould write: And againſt writing their ſeemed to be no Objection, and as little againſt writing what They adviſed, which was no more than He had formerly writ, and always ſaid to their Ambaſſadour. And that this might be a more favourable Conjuncture for the good Reception of it, and hearkening to it, his Majeſty was reaſonably to believe thoſe who meant to ſecond and promote it with their own Reaſons: And therefore the Time and the Manner of the Delivery of it was left to be reſolved amongſt themſelves, the King having no Miniſter there to preſent it.

THE Way that They had thought of was, that *Bewett* ſhould at the proper Time deliver it to *De Wit*, who durſt not conceal it, and if He ſhould, there would be Ways enough to publiſh it to his Reproach; nor could He take any Advantage of *Bewett* for his Correſpondence with their Enemies, becauſe it had been entered into with his Approbation. But for the better Security in the ſending it, and the better Information of the Perſons engaged, of all the Reflections which had been made by the King and thoſe with whom He had conferred by his Majeſty's Order, it was thought beſt that *Silvius* ſhould return; and if *Bewett* thought fit to decline the Delivery of the King's Letter, and no better Way could be found for the Delivery of it, He might preſent it in the Manner his Friends there ſhould direct, and avow his having been at *London* to ſolicit his own Pretences ſince the Death of the Princeſs Royal his Miſtreſs, and that He had received the Letter from the King's own Hand. This being the concurrent Opinion of all, and the Gentleman himſelf willing to undertake it; *Silvius* was diſpatched.

IN the Debate of the Matter, the King aſked the Chancellor "what He thought of the Deſign, and "whether

"whether He thought it would ſucceed;" who ſaid, "He doubted it much, and that it would conclude "in the Loſs of poor *Bewett's* Head, who had not "a Talent for the Managery of an Affair of that "Weight, which would require great Secrecy and "great Sobriety, and the Conſideration of more Par-"ticulars at once than his Comprehenſion could con-"tain together." Then He did not like the Method They propoſed, of joining the Demand of Peace with the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which, though it might probably follow the Peace and be an Effect of it, would not be ſeaſonable to be joined with it in Regard of his Infancy; and that many did heartily deſire the Peace, who had no Mind that the Prince ſhould be reſtored to the Offices of his Father and Family, or that there ſhould be any Debate of it, till the Prince came to the Age that was provided by the ſolemn Act and Declaration of the *States:* Which had been the Reaſon that his Majeſty (who had all the Tenderneſs for his Nephew that a Parent could have) would never be perſuaded to mention him (though it had been propoſed by many, and even by the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Princeſs Dowager) in the Conditions of the Peace; the King foreſeeing that *De Wit* would have been glad to have that Advantage, as to obſerve to the People, that the King would preſcribe to them what Officers They ſhould chooſe and admit into their Government, and that They muſt have no Peace, except They would take a General and a (336) Stadtholder and an Admiral of his Nomination, which was to make them ſubject to himſelf.

AND this was the Reaſon, that in all Conferences with the *French* Ambaſſadours, who ſometimes would mention the Prince of *Orange* with Compaſſion for the Ingratitude of the *States* towards him, and add, "that They doubted not their Maſter would be ready "to join with his Majeſty in doing him all Offices;" and ſometimes when the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour (who was

was of that Party that did really wish the Restoration of the Prince) in Conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the Prince of *Orange* would be the Consequence of the Peace: The King never gave other Answer, than "that He should be "very glad that the *States* would gratify his Nephew; "but that it was a Matter He had Nothing to do to "interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own "Good-Will and Pleasure."

THE rest who were present had much more Esteem of *Bewett* than the Chancellor had (who thought as well of his Courage and Integrity as They did), and believed He would have Success in what He designed, his Interest in the Right of his Wife being confessedly very great amongst the *States*, and his jolly Course of Living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to Men of the most different Affections; and then of all the Officers of the Militia He was most esteemed, which was like to be of Moment if the Dispute brought the Matter to a Struggle: But the Event shewed the Contrary.

AFTER *Silvius's* Departure, Letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three Posts. And *Bewett* one Day meeting *De Wit* when He came from his good Fellows, and They walking a Turn together in common Discourse, *De Wit* asked him, "when He had any Letter from *England*, and "how Affairs went there:" To which He suddenly answered, "that He came just then from receiving "one, which He had not yet deciphered," and put his Hand into his Pocket, and took thence a Letter; and casting his Eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the Company He had left) upon the Superscription, He gave it to him, and said, "He would go with him that They might de-"cipher it together according to Custom."

Bewett's secret Correspondence accidentally discovered by De Wit.

DE WIT presently found that it was not the accustomed Cipher (for He had delivered the wrong Letter, that which He ought not to see), and desired

fired him "that He would walk before, and He "would presently overtake him, after He had spoken "a few Words at a House in his Way." And so leaving him, He took present Orders for the apprehending him and searching his Pockets; and at the same Time sent to his House, and caused his Cabinet, where all his Papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor *Bewett*, whilst He stayed at the other's House that They might decipher the Letter, was apprehended, and all his Papers taken out of his Pockets, and He sent to Prison. The other Cipher was quickly found, and many Letters and other Papers, which discovered many Secrets. Whereupon a Court of Justice was speedily erected: And within three Days, according to the Expedition used there in such Cases, a Scaffold was erected, and the poor Gentleman brought thither in the Sight of all his Friends; and there, with his known Courage, and in few Words declaring "that He had honest "Purposes to the Country," lost his Head.

Upon which He is executed.

SILVIUS quickly heard of his Imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own Escape, and arrived in *England* before He heard of his last Misfortune, which He did not suspect, nor knew (337) how the Discovery had been made. The Knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: Most of them got into *Flanders*; the *Burgomaster* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three others of Note, made all the Haste They could into *England*; some thought themselves secure in *Antwerp* and other Parts of *Flanders*; and some were seized upon in several Places of the *States* Dominions, and imprisoned with all the Circumstances of Severity, though upon the Want of clear Proofs few of them were put to Death. The Troop of Guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new Officers, and assigned for a constant Guard to the *States*, without the least formal Relation to the Prince of *Orange*, or using his Name or Livery, or Permission to pay any Reverence to him. And so the Prince was much lower

His Friends obliged to fly.

lower than before, and all Hopes of reviving almoſt extinguiſhed or expired; *De Wit* ſtood firmer upon his own Feet than ever, and directed all Preparations for the War without Control; and all the preſent Expectation in *England* vaniſhed: Whilſt the Penſionary informed *France* of the Dangers He had eſcaped for them, and what great Matters had been offered to him if He would have departed from their Intereſt; and made the Plot to contain all that He fancied it might have done.

When the Parliament at *Oxford* was prorogued, it was to a Day in *April*: But the King had Reaſon to believe that They would not ſo ſoon be in good Humour enough to give more Money, which was the principal End of calling them together. And the Dregs of the Plague ſtill remaining, and venting its Malignity in many Burials every Week, his Majeſty thought fit to diſpenſe with their Attendance at that Time by a Proclamation: And He cauſed it at the Day to be prorogued to the twentieth of *September* following. In the mean Time the Court abounded in all its Exceſſes. There had been ſome Hope during the Abode at *Oxford*, that the Queen had been with Child; and whilſt that Hope laſted, the King lived with more Conſtraint and Caution, and prepared to make himſelf worthy of that Bleſſing: And there are many Reaſons to believe, beſides his own natural good Inclinations, that if God had vouchſafed to have given him a Child, and the Queen that Bleſſing to have merited from him, He would have reſtrained all thoſe inordinate Appetites and Delights; and that He would ſeriouſly have applied himſelf to his Government, and cut off all thoſe extravagant Expenſes of Money and Time, which diſturbed and corrupted the Evenneſs of his own Nature and the Sincerity of his Intentions, and expoſed him to the Temptations of thoſe who had all the Traps and Snares to catch and detain him.

The

THE Imagination of the Queen's Breeding was one Cauſe of her Stay there; and her Stay there was the longer, becauſe She miſcarried when She intended to begin her Journey. And though the Doctors declared that it was a real Miſcarriage, ripe enough to make a Judgment of the Sex; yet ſome of the Women who had more Credit with the King aſſured him, "that it was only a falſe Conception, and that "She had not been at all with Child:" Inſomuch that his Majeſty, who had been ſo confident upon a former Occaſion, as to declare to the Queen his Mother and to others, "that upon his own Knowledge "her Majeſty had miſcarried of a Son," ſuffered himſelf now to be ſo totally convinced by thoſe Ladies and other Women, that He did as poſitively believe that She never had, never could be, with Child. And from that Time He took little Pleaſure in her Converſation, and more indulged to himſelf all Liberties in the Converſation of thoſe, who uſed all their Skill to ſupply him with Divertiſements, which might drive all that was ſerious out of his Thoughts, and make (338) him undervalue thoſe whom He had uſed, and ſtill did moſt truſt and employ, in what He thought moſt important; though He ſometimes thought many Things not of Importance, which in the Conſequence were of the higheſt.

The Queen miſcarries.

Great Licenſe in the Court.

THE Lady, who had never declined in Favour, was now greater in Power than ever: She was with Child again, and well enough contented that his Majeſty ſhould entertain an Amour with another Lady, and made a very ſtrict Friendſhip with her, it may be the more diligently out of Confidence that He would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without Doubt the King's Paſſion was ſtronger towards that other Lady, than ever it was to any other Woman: And She carried it with that Diſcretion and Modeſty, that She made no other Uſe of it than for the Convenience of her own Fortune and Subſiſtence, which was narrow enough;

never ſeemed diſpoſed to interpoſe in the leaſt Degree in Buſineſs, nor to ſpeak ill of any Body; which Kind of Nature and Temper the more inflamed the King's Affection, who did not in his Nature love a buſy Woman, and had an Averſion from ſpeaking with any Woman, or hearing them ſpeak, of any Buſineſs but to that Purpoſe He thought them all made for, however They broke in afterwards upon him to all other Purpoſes.

THE Lady herſelf, who every Day (as was ſaid before) grew in Power and Credit, did not yet preſume to interpoſe in any other Buſineſs, than in giving all the imaginable Countenance She could to thoſe who deſired to depend upon her, and, in their Right as well as her own, in depreſſing the Credit of thoſe who She knew wiſhed her's much leſs than it was; but in this laſt Argument She was hitherto wary, and took only ſuch Opportunities as were offered, without going out of her Way to find them. Her principal Buſineſs was to get an Eſtate for herſelf and her Children, which She thought the King at leaſt as much concerned to provide as She to ſolicit; which however She would not be wanting in, and ſo procured round Sums of Money out of the Privy Purſe (where She had placed Mr. *May*), and other Aſſignations in other Names, and ſo the leſs taken Notice of, though in great Proportions: All which yet amounted to little more than to pay her Debts, which She had in few Years contracted to an unimaginable Greatneſs, and to defray her conſtant Expenſes, which were very exceſſive in Coaches and Horſes, Cloaths and Jewels, without any Thing of Generoſity, or gratifying any of her Family, or ſo much as paying any of her Father's Debts, whereof ſome were very clamorous. Her Name was not uſed in any Suits for the Grant of Lands; for beſides that there was no avowing or publick Mention of natural Children, She did think the Chancellor and Treaſurer willing to obſtruct ſuch Grants, and

and desired not to have any Occasion to try the Kindness of either of them: And so all the Suits She made of that Kind were with Reference to *Ireland*, where They had no Title to obstruct, nor natural Opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that Kingdom She procured the Grant of several great Quantities of Land, like to prove of great Benefit and Value to her or her Children.

THE chief Design They now begun to design, and the worst They could ever design, was to raise a Jealousy in the King of his Brother, to which his Majesty was not in any Degree inclined, and had in Truth a just Affection for him and Confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural Parts than He thought there was Cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, He did very often depart in Matters of the highest Moment from his own Judgment to comply with his Brother, who was instructed, by those who too well (339) knew the King's Nature, to adhere to any Thing He once advised, and to be importunate in any Thing He proposed; in which He prevailed the more easily, because He never used it in any Thing that concerned himself or his own Benefit.

An Attempt to raise Jealousies in the King of his Brother.

THE Truth is: It was the unhappy Fate and Constitution of that Family, that They trusted naturally the Judgments of those, who were as much inferiour to them in Understanding as They were in Quality, before their own which was very good; and suffered even their Natures, which disposed them to Virtue and Justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make Use of some one Infirmity that They discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, They by Degrees wrought upon the Mass, and sacrificed all the other good Inclinations to that single Vice. They were too much inclined to like Men at first Sight, and did not love the Conversation of Men of many more Years than themselves, and

The Temper and Disposition of the Stuart *Family.*

thought Age not only troubleſome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and leſs to Strangers than to their Friends; not out of Bounty or Generoſity, which was a Flower that did never grow naturally in the Heart of either of the Families, that of *Stuart* or the other of *Bourbon*, but out of an Unſkilfulneſs and Defect in the Countenance: And when They prevailed with themſelves to make ſome Pauſe rather than to deny, Importunity removed all Reſolution, which They knew neither how to ſhut out nor to defend themſelves againſt, even when it was evident enough that They had much rather not conſent; which often made that which would have looked like Bounty loſe all its Grace and Luſtre.

Particularly of the King and Duke.

If the Duke ſeemed to be more firm and fixed in his Reſolutions, it was rather from an Obſtinacy in his Will, which He defended by Averſion from the Debate, than from the Conſtancy of his Judgment, which was more ſubject to Perſons than to Arguments, and ſo as changeable at leaſt as the King's, which was in greateſt Danger by Surpriſe: And from this Want of Steadineſs, and Irreſolution (whenceſoever the Infirmity proceeded) moſt of the Misfortunes, which attended either of them or their Servants who ſerved them honeſtly, had their Riſe and Growth; of which there will be ſhortly an Occaſion, and too frequently, to ſay much more. In the mean Time it cannot be denied, and was obſerved and confeſſed by all, that never any Prince had a more humble and dutiful Condeſcenſion and Submiſſion to an elder Brother, than the Duke had towards the King: His whole Demeanour and Behaviour was ſo full of Reverence, that it might have given Example to be imitated by thoſe, who ought but did not obſerve a greater Diſtance. And the Conſcience and Reſentment He had within himſelf, for the Sally He had made in *Flanders*, made him after ſo wary in his Actions, and ſo abhorring to hear any Thing that might leſſen his Awe for the King, that no Man who

who had moſt Credit with him durſt approach towards any Thing of that Kind; ſo that there was never leſs Ground of Jealouſy than of him. And (as was ſaid before) the King (who was in his Nature ſo far from any Kind of Jealouſy, that He was too much inclined to make Interpretations of many Words and Actions, which might reaſonably harbour other Apprehenſions) was as incapable of any Infuſions which might leſſen his Confidence in his Brother, as any noble and virtuous Mind could be. And therefore thoſe ill Men, who began about this Time to ſow that curſed Seed that grew up to bear a large Crop of the worſt and rankeſt Jealouſy in the ſucceeding Time, did not preſume to make any Reflection upon the Duke himſelf, but upon his Wife, "upon the State She aſſumed, and the Height of
(340) "the whole Family, that lived in much more Plenty," They ſaid, "than the King's, and were more regarded abroad."

Endeavours uſed to leſſen the King's Eſteem of the Dutcheſs.

SUCH Kind of People are never without ſome particular Stories of the Perſons whom They deſire to deprave: And ſo They had many Inſtances, which They uſed upon all Occaſions, of ſome Levity or Vanity, of ſome Words affected by the Dutcheſs, or ſome outward Carriage, true or falſe, which for the moſt Part concluded in Mirth and Laughter, and ſeemed ridiculous; which was the Method They uſed in all their Approaches of that Kind towards the higheſt Acts of Malice, firſt to make the Perſon, whom They hoped to ruin in the End, leſs eſteemed, by the acting and Preſentation of his Words and Geſtures and Motions; which commonly is attended with Laughter. And this is the firſt Breach They make upon any Man's Reputation; and the frequent Cuſtom of this Kind of Laughter and Mirth, which is eaſily produced without any Malice, doth in the End open a Space large enough to let in Calumny and Scandal enough to weaken, if not to deſtroy, the beſt built Reputation.

THIS was the Courſe They held with Reference to the Dutcheſs, whom the King had from the Beginning treated with great Grace and Favour, and conſidered her as a Woman of more than an ordinary Wit and Underſtanding: And the Queen Mother had from the Reconciliation uſed her with that abundant Affection and Familiarity that was very wonderful; and the Heights She aſſumed, and all that Greatneſs which many thought too much, were not only inculcated, but enjoined by the Queen as a Duty due to her Huſband, of whoſe high Degree She thought She could not be too tender and careful. And She had the Happineſs ſo well to behave herſelf towards the Duke, that He was exceedingly pleaſed with her, and lived towards her with an Affection ſo remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the publick Diſcourſe and Commendation; and which made the Liberties that were taken elſewhere the more ſpoken of and cenſured. It was very viſible that He liked her Company and Converſation very well, and was believed to communicate all his Counſels, and all He knew or thought, without Reſerve to her; which, being ſo contrary to the profeſſed Doctrine of the Court, adminiſtered Occaſion to the Men of Mirth, in thoſe Seaſons which took up a good Part of every Night, to be very pleaſant upon the Government of the Dutcheſs, and the Submiſſion of the Duke; in which there were always ſome witty Reflections upon the Chancellor. And this Kind of Liberty, being firſt grateful to the King for the Wit that accompanied it and the Mirth that it produced, grew by the Cuſtom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and publick Obſervation of the Diſparity in the Lives of the two Brothers made it wiſhed, that there were no more of that Strictneſs in the one Place than in the other, towards which there wanted not Application and Advice accordingly as well as Example.

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IN the mean Time the Chancellor had a hard Part to act, being neither able to do the Good He conſtantly endeavoured on one Side, nor remove the Ill He diſliked on the other Side; for He ſaw well the Miſchief that would inevitably follow the great Expenſes of the Duke, which exceeded all Limits and could never be provided for; and thought the Dutcheſs to be blamed for what She ſpent upon herſelf, and uſed all the Credit He had with Both to begin in Time to reform what Neceſſity would ſhortly do with more Diſhonour: But the Diſeaſe had grown from the firſt ill Digeſtion.

(341) THE Lord *Berkley* had upon the King's firſt Arrival formed a Family without Rule or Precedent, and made the Servants in a much better Condition than the Maſter, by aſſigning liberal Penſions and Allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their Places, without conſidering from what Fund they ſhould ariſe: And now They all would have the Duke believe, "that He ſpent not too much; "but that He had too little Proviſion aſſigned to "him for his Quality and Relation, and that this "proceeded from the Neglect in the Chancellor, "who was able, if He endeavoured it, to perſuade "the King to enlarge it to a juſt Proportion." And this was as much urged to the Dutcheſs as to the Duke, and it made in her a greater Impreſſion; and though She had in all other Reſpects a very entire Affection and even a Duty and Reſignation to her Father, yet in this He had no Authority with her, nor did She think him a competent Judge what Expenſes Princes ſhould make: And having ſeen the State and Luſtre in which the Duke of *Anjou* lived in *France*, and having received many Infuſions from the Queen, of the great Defect in the Cuſtoms of *England*, in providing either for the Reſpect or for the Support of the younger Sons of the Crown, She thought that the Chancellor ſhould rather uſe his Credit for the enlarging that Narrowneſs, which the King

King was enough disposed to, than to reform their Expenses. But of this enough.

THE Plague had really swept away and destroyed so many Seamen (*Stepney* and the Places adjacent, which were their common Habitations, being almost depopulated) that now, all other Obstructions being removed, there seemed even an Impossibility to procure Sailors and Mariners enough to set out the Fleet; insomuch as They found it necessary to press many Watermen, and to disfurnish all Merchant Ships which were prepared to be set out to the Plantations or to other Places of Trade: All which turned not so much to Benefit one Way, as it did to Loss another Way. But the best Way to expedite all Things was the two Admirals going to the Fleet themselves, that They who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that They who had no Mind to go might, out of Shame, likewise accompany them.

THERE appeared great Unanimity and Consent between them. Only Prince *Rupert* had a great Desire to go in a Ship apart, and that They might not be Both in one Ship: But upon Debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a Time of Action the Orders could not be the same, if They who gave them were not together and in the same Place; and so the Prince was persuaded not to be positive in that Particular. And so They Both went together, and took Leave of the King towards the End of *April*, and laboured so effectually (as They were Both Men of great Dexterity and indefatigable Industry in such Conjunctures), that They carried the Fleet out to Sea, well fitted and provided, by the Middle of *May*; with which They presently visited the Coast of *Holland*, and took many Prizes; and by the Intelligence They met with concluded that the *Dutch* Fleet would not be ready in a Month, of which They gave the King Advertisement, and returned into the *Downs*. And Prince *Rupert* at the same Time

The Fleet puts to Sea under Prince Rupert *and the General.*

Time expreſſed an Inclination to go himſelf with Part of the Fleet to meet the Duke of *Beaufort*, who was reported to be under Sail to join with the *Dutch*, and "that They would not put to Sea till "They foreſaw that They were like to join about "*Calais*." *The Occaſion of the Diviſion of the Fleet.*

AT or near the ſame Time the Lord *Arlington* received Intelligence, "that the *Dutch* were not yet "well manned; and that the Ships which were in "the *Texel*, and were to join with the other under "*De Ruyter* in the *Wierings*, were more unprovided:" Though at the ſame Time Secretary *Morrice* (who had always better Intelligence from *Holland*) was aſſured from thence, "that all the Ships in Both "Places were ſo ready that they would join within "very few Days." But the Lord *Arlington*, who thought He ought to be more believed, received as poſitive Advertiſement from *France*, "that the Duke "of *Beaufort* ſet ſail from *Breſt* on ſuch a Day:" And though the Wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that He muſt be well advanced in his Way, and He had no Port to Friend till He came to the Coaſt of *France* near *Calais*.

UPON this there ſeemed a great Deſire that Prince *Rupert* might take the Courſe He had propoſed; for the Convenience was agreed to be very great, if the *French* could be met with before the Conjunction. However the Council was ſo wary that at that Time attended the King at *Worceſter-Houſe*, the Chancellor being affected with the Gout, that They adviſed the King "not to ſend poſitive Orders for the dividing "the Fleet, which by many Accidents might pro- "duce Inconveniences; but rather to ſend two of "the Council to the Fleet, with an Account of all "the Intelligence, and the Reflections which occurred "to the King upon it." And hereupon Sir *George Carteret* and Sir *William Coventry* were preſently ſent, and carried ſuch Orders with them, as would be neceſ-

neceſſary if the Generals had not other Intelligence, or did think that the Diviſion was not liable to more Objections than had been in View. And this Caution I ſet down more particularly, becauſe the Council underwent Reproaches which it did not deſerve.

THE two Counſellors uſed ſuch Expedition, and found ſo good Conveniences by Land and Water, that They returned to the King the next Day with an Account, "that the State of the *Dutch* Fleet was confirmed to be the ſame that his Majeſty had heard, "and that They believed the other concerning the "Duke of *Beaufort* to be very probable; whereupon "They had concluded with a mutual Conſent and Approbation, *that Prince* Rupert *ſhould take twenty of the "Ships, which He had already choſen, to meet the* French, "*though They were ſuperiour in Number, whilſt the General remained in the* Downs *with the reſt:* And in Order to this that the Prince went aboard his Ship before They came away, and the rather, becauſe the "Wind was ſo much againſt him, that his Majeſty's "Orders, if He found Cauſe to ſend any, would be "ſure for ſome Days to find him upon the Weſtern "Coaſt; and the Wind that was againſt him was ſo "favourable to the Duke of *Beaufort*, that it was probable They might ſpeedily meet, and in a Place to "be wiſhed." The King ſaw no Cauſe yet to ſend Orders to the Contrary; and this was the Reaſon, and all the Circumſtances, of the Separation of the Fleet that proved unfortunate.

IT appeared very ſoon after, which Secretary had the better Intelligence: For the very next Day after the Departure of the Prince, the General, who remained in the *Downs*, had certain Intelligence that the *Dutch* were come out of their Harbours, having it ſeems received Intelligence likewiſe of the *French* Fleet's being at Sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do ſo; which had deceived the Court, They believing that They ſtayed becauſe They were not ready to come out, whereas They were ready and expected only the other Advertiſement. As

As ſoon as the General was informed, He ſent Notice preſently to the Duke late in the ſame Evening, who, informing the King of it, gave Orders to Sir *William Coventry* to prepare Orders to Prince *Rupert* immediately to return; and if thoſe Orders had been
(343) carefully diſpatched, they might have come to the Prince before the Morning. But Sir *William Coventry* thought He had done his Part when He got the Order ſigned, which was about twelve of the Clock at Night, and then ſent them by his Servant to the Lord *Arlington*, whoſe Part He thought it was to charge a Meſſenger with them: But He was gone to Bed, and his Servants durſt not diſquiet him, a Tenderneſs not accuſtomed to be in the Family of a Secretary. But whether They did not wake him, as He pretended, or being awake He deferred it, it was not ſent away till the next Day, and never came to Prince *Rupert's* Hand till He had turned his Sails upon the Thunder of the Canon: And He no ſooner endeavoured to return, but the Wind chopped about to retard him, that He could make little Way that Day or the Night following. Whoſe Fault it was that theſe important Orders were not ſent with more Expedition, whether Sir *William Coventry* ought not to have taken Care for the conveying them, at leaſt to have given the Lord *Arlington* Notice what the Contents of them were, of which He denied to have any Notice, was diſputed with ſome Warmth between themſelves, and ſo came to be publiſhed: But it was never examined any where elſe, though the Negligence was very miſchievous in its Effect; but They were Both too great Men to be queſtioned in any Judicatory.

A Neglect in forwarding an Order to Prince Rupert *to rejoin the Fleet.*

THE General, after the Notice He had received of the Motion of the *Dutch*, ordered the Fleet to weigh Anchor about three of the Clock in the Morning upon the firſt of *June* 1666, to ſail to the *Bouy of the Gunfleet* to join with ſome other Ships which lay there, to get more Men, being then but ill manned: And about ſeven of the Clock in the Morning the Scouts came

The Dutch *Fleet comes out.*

came in, and brought the General Notice, that the *Dutch* Fleet was to the Leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till They might join with the *French*. And it had been to be wiſhed that the *Engliſh* had ſtood off too, upon Confidence that Prince *Rupert*, whom the Wind had kept from being far off, as They could not but know, would receive Direction from Court to return. But the General (who was as impatient upon the Sight of an Enemy to engage with him as Prince *Rupert* himſelf, and had a natural Contempt of the *Dutch*) called his Flag-Officers to Council, and quickly reſolved, "that it was not convenient "nor ſafe nor honourable to decline the Battle, leſt it "might take off the preſent Courage of the Seamen." And truly in all thoſe Conſultations, upon the like Occaſions, whoever propoſed any wary Advice run great Hazard of being reputed a Coward. And ſo They bore up with a full Wind upon the Enemy, notwithſtanding the viſible Diſadvantage They were in, in Reſpect of the Strength of the Enemy, for in the Abſence of Prince *Rupert* there remained little above fifty Sail with the General; whereas *De Ruyter's* Fleet conſiſted of above fourſcore Sail, who eaſily perceived his Advantage, and that a great Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet was abſent, and ſo willingly embraced the Occaſion, and made what Sail He could to meet with them.

The ſecond general Engagement.

The firſt Day's Action.

It was about two of the Clock in the Afternoon when the Engagement began; and the *Engliſh* had got the Wind, which was ſo high that They could not carry out their lower Tiers. The Admiral was ſo ſhattered in his Rigging and Maſts, that He was compelled to get off and anchor, that He might mend what was amiſs; and many of his Squadron had their Main-yards ſhot off, and received ſuch Damage in their Tackling, which was the chief Aim of the *Dutch*, that They could hardly govern their Ships. And by this Means the Enemy got the Wind; and the Battle continued with great Fierceneſs, and Loſs of many Men on Both Sides, till nine or ten of the Clock at Night, when all were willing to have ſome Reſt.

That

THAT Night was ſpent in repairing Maſts and Rigging: And at ſix of the Clock in the Morning the Battle began again with the ſame Fierceneſs, and laſted till Night. And that Day the *Dutch* ſuffered much, and one of their Vice-Admirals was boarded and afterwards ſunk, as many of their other Ships likewiſe were; ſo that They began to fall off: When ſixteen new great Ships came to their Aid, which gave them new Courage; ſo that They renewed and maintained the Fight with great Reſolution, and killed many Men of the *Engliſh* and diſabled many of the Ships, till the Night again parted them. *The ſecond Day's Action.* *The Dutch reinforced.*

UPON the Account the General received that Night, and the new Acceſs of Force to the *Dutch*, He thought it neceſſary to retire; for though He had loſt no Ship, very many were ſo diſabled, that there was Reaſon to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the Shore. And thereupon He cauſed all thoſe Ships to be put before and make all the Sail they could, and himſelf with ſixteen Ships in a Breadth went in the Rear: Which as ſoon as the Enemy perceived, They purſued, but came not within Reach of their Guns till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and then though They ſhot hard They did very little Harm, the Sternpieces of the *Engliſh* over-reaching their Broadſides, which made many of them get off as quickly as They could. But by this Time the *Engliſh* deſcried about twenty Sail of Ships ſtanding towards them, which They concluded to be Prince *Rupert* (as it proved): And ſo being earneſt to join, They edged up towards them, but ſo unfortunately, that many of the Flag-Ships were on Ground off the *Galloper-Sand*. But with much ado they all got off ſafe, the *Royal Prince* only excepted, which for this laſt Age, and till the late War, was held the beſt Ship in the World. This brave Ship ſtuck ſo faſt that no Art or Induſtry could move her; ſo that the Enemy, when They found They could not carry her off, ſet her on Fire, and took the Captain Sir *George Ayſcue* and all the Company Priſoners, and *The Engliſh retire.* *The third Day's Action.*

without

without Diſtinction uſed all with great Barbarity, in which They pretended only to uſe Retaliation. That Night Prince *Rupert* joined: And then They bore to the Northward, that They might get clear of the Sands; and thereby the Enemy got the Wind again.

Prince Rupert comes up with his Squadron.

The fourth Day's Action.

THE fourth Day of the Battle, which was the fourth of *June*, the Enemy being to Windward about three Leagues, the Generals in the Morning made all Sail towards them: And They lay with their Sails to the Maſts to ſtay for them, which They would not have had the Courage to have done, if They had not had Intelligence from the Priſoners of the *Prince*, in how tattered a Condition the Fleet was. The Battle began about eight of the Clock in the Morning with extraordinary Confidence on Both Sides, the *Dutch* continuing their old Guard to ſpend all their Shot upon the Rigging and Maſts, and to defend themſelves from being boarded, which the *Engliſh* moſt intended and laboured to do. But the Deſign of the others ſucceeded better: Inſomuch that one of the Vice-Admirals of a Squadron, and other of the beſt Ships, were ſo diſabled that They bore off from the Battle that They might mend and repair; which gave no ſmall Encouragement to the Enemy. But the two Generals were invincible, and continued the Battle all the Day in ſeveral Forms, and by the Advantage of the Wind fired ſix or ſeven of their Ships, and ſunk others, and had two or three of their own likewiſe ſunk. And between ſix and ſeven at Night, as if by Conſent (and no Doubt Both Sides were very weary of the Encounter), They ſeparated without looking after each other, and haſtened to their ſeveral Coaſts; many of the *Engliſh* being ſo hurt in Yards, Maſts, Rigging and Hulls, many of them wanting Men to ply their Guns, and their Powder and Shot near ſpent, that with very much Difficulty they got into Harbour: And ſo concluded that great Action, wherein either Side pretended to have Advantage, and Both loſt very much.

Both Sides claim the Victory.

THE

THE next Day after the Battle was ſpent in fitting their Maſts and repairing their Rigging, that They might be able to reach the Coaſt: And when They came near it, the Generals called a Council about diſpoſing thoſe Ships which could not remain at Sea, and ſent them to ſuch ſeveral Places as they might be ſooneſt repaired in; and gave every Captain very ſtrict Order, "that all poſſible Diligence and Expedition "ſhould be uſed to get their Ships ready, and fur-"niſhed with whatſoever was wanting;" and the Commiſſioners of the Navy were required to be aſſiſtant in all Places. And ſo wonderful Diligence was uſed (which appears almoſt incredible) that the whole Fleet was ſo well fitted, that by the ſeventeenth Day of the ſame Month, within a Fortnight after ſo terrible a Battle, it was gathered together to a Rendezvous to the *Buoy of the Nore*. The Enemy made as much Haſte, rather to meet with the *French*, who were every Day ſtill expected, than to fight with the *Engliſh*, and kept as near to their own Coaſt as conveniently They could: So that how ready ſoever the Generals were (who had never left their Ships) with the Fleet by the ſeventeenth of the Month, the Winds were ſo averſe or ſo calm, that it was the four and twentieth Day of that Month before They could reach the Sight of the Enemy.

The third general Engagement.

AND the next Day, which was the twenty fifth, the *Engliſh* made all the Sail They could, and by ten in the Morning engaged in as hot an Encounter as had hitherto been in any Engagement: And though the *Dutch* ſeemed not to fight with the ſame Spirit and Mettle, yet the Battle held till two in the Afternoon, when by the Advantage of the Wind They bore away faſter than the *Engliſh* could follow. However here They took Vice-Admiral *Banchart*, and his Ship of threeſcore Guns and three hundred Men was burned; and another Ship of ſeventy Guns and three hundred Men was likewiſe taken and burned; which the Generals thought better, than to undergo the poſſible Inconvenience

The Engliſh *victorious.*

convenience of keeping them: And ſo They kept up as cloſe to the Enemy in the Night as They could do. The next Morning They uſed all their Sails, and deſigned to board *De Ruyter*; which, the Wind leſſening, They could not effect, He fighting very well but running faſter: And ſo, though very well purſued, He got into his Faſtneſs at the *Wierings*, with thoſe who were neareſt to him. But the reſt who were farther off, and were like to have the Benefit of the Night, tacked about: Which They who attacked *De Ruyter* perceiving, and that They could follow him no farther, and that the reſt were five and forty Sail, They followed them, the Generals doing all They could with their Squadron to put themſelves between them and the Coaſt; but the Wind growing on a ſudden calm, about Midnight They dropped their Anchors, that They might not be driven farther than They had a Mind to be. But in the Morning, when They weighed Anchor to purſue them, and made all the Way They could with a little Wind, the Enemy got ſo cloſe to their own Shore, their Ships drawing leſs Water than the *Engliſh*, that there could be no farther Purſuit.

ANOTHER Part of the Fleet, which was ſeparated when *De Ruyter* got into the *Wierings*, and which the Generals looked upon as their own, was ſo unhappily purſued, though by Men of very good Name, that they eſcaped; which raiſed a great Diſtemper in the Fleet, whilſt ſome Officers of the prime and moſt unqueſtionable Courage charged and accuſed others, who had always given great Teſtimony that They durſt do any Thing, "of baſe declining to fight when the "Enemy was in their Power, and that They choſe ra-"ther to ſuffer them to eſcape than to encounter them." And this Diſpute and Expoſtulation, between Men who had many Seconds, divided the Generals, one declaring himſelf on the one Side as the other did on the other; but They wiſely laid aſide the Debate, till They ſhould be at more Leiſure with leſs Inconvenience to determine it.

THE

THE Generals thereupon, having thus ſcattered the Enemy, reſolved to ply upon the *Dutch* Coaſt to take all Ships of Trade, which They did; and off the *Texel* and the *Flie* took many Prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great Value. And They having now Nothing to do but to lie ſtill, there was a *Dutch* Captain, one *Laurence Van Humſkerke*, who after the firſt Battle, in the Faction between *Evertſon* and *Van Trump*, had given *De Wit* ſo great an Advantage, that if He had not made his Eſcape He had been hanged, who from that Time had always been on Board with Prince *Rupert*: This Man, whilſt the Fleet lay in this Poſture, adviſed Prince *Rupert* to attempt a Place near the *Flie*, which was ſo locked in the Land that it was always looked upon as very ſecure (and where all Ships laden at *Amſterdam* for the *Straits* and thoſe Parts, when they were outward bound, uſed to lie two or three Days, as in a ſafe Port, until all Things which might be forgotten were prepared, and all the Company came together), and had never been invaded in any War: and by it was a pretty large Village, called *Schelling*, which had many good Houſes in it, beſides others inhabited by, and for the Entertainment of, Seamen.

The Attempt upon the Iſland of Schelling.

THIS Enterpriſe was committed to Sir *Robert Holmes*, a very bold and expert Man; who with a Number of ſmall Veſſels very well manned, beſides a Body of ſtout Foot to land upon Occaſions, being aſſiſted by the *Dutchman*, ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted it, that He burned all the *Dutch* Ships lying there, being of ineſtimable Value, all outward bound, and ſome of them worth above one hundred thouſand Pounds each Ship. They burned likewiſe the whole Town of *Schelling*; which Conflagration, with that of the Ships, appearing at the Break of Day ſo near *Amſterdam*, put that Place into that Conſternation that They thought the Day of Judgment was come, not thinking of their Ships there, as being out of the Power or Reach of any Enemy: And no Doubt it was the greateſt Loſs that State ſuſ-

The chief Town and a large Fleet of Merchant Ships burnt.

tained in the whole War, that is, greater than all the reſt. And as this Victory, if it can be called a Victory when there is no Reſiſtance, occaſioned great Triumph in *England*, ſo it raiſed *great Thoughts of Heart* in *De Wit*, and a Reſolution of Revenge before any Peace ſhould be conſented to; which They effected to a good Degree the next Year.

THERE appeared no more Likelihood of the *Dutch* coming out again: So about the fifteenth of *Auguſt* the Generals returned to *Southwould Bay* to receive a Recruit of Men, Proviſions and Ammunition, having left Ships enough upon the Coaſt of *Holland* to take Prizes, and Scouts upon the Coaſt to get Intelligence in what Readineſs the Enemy's Fleet was, and what was done within the Land. And about the twenty ſeventh a little Pink, that waited upon the Coaſt of *Zealand*, brought Notice that the Enemy, conſiſting of about fourſcore Sail of Ships, were ready to come out from the *Wierings*; and the next Day They were aſſured that They were come out and bound Weſtward, by which They concluded that They had Hope to join the *French* Fleet. Whereupon the Generals gave preſent Orders to unmoor the Fleet; and weighing Anchor about ſeven of the Clock in the Morning ſtood to Sea, and about Noon diſcovered the *Dutch* Fleet about four Leagues to the Leeward. The Generals made all Sail towards them: But the Enemy ſtood away for the Coaſt of *Flanders*, whilſt the *Engliſh* were ſo entangled upon the *Galloper-Sands*, that They could not ſtand after the Enemy till late in the Afternoon; ſo that it was Night before They came near each other, and then ſeveral Guns were fired to little Purpoſe.

The Dutch *Fleet puts to Sea again.*

(347)

THE next Morning, being the firſt of *September*, the Seaſon when the Winds begin to grow boiſterous, They had upon the breaking of the Day loſt the Sight of the Enemy, though They believed that They had bore up in the Night for them: But when it was Light, They found that They were to the Leeward as far

far as They could diſcover, near *St. John's Bay* beyond *Calais*. The *Engliſh* purſued them, and making ſome Stay for the Fireſhips, which could not make Haſte by Reaſon of the bluſtering Weather, it was four in the Afternoon before the Fleet came up together to them; when *De Ruyter* made a Shew as if He would draw off from the Shore towards them. But when He ſaw the *Engliſh* ſtand with him and advance with their uſual Reſolution, He tacked back again, and ſtood cloſe in to the Shore, where the reſt of the Fleet was, in the Bay of *Staples*. And then the Night came; and the Wind blew ſo violently, that the *Engliſh* were forced to tack, and many of the Ships were forced to the Leeward, the Night being ſo foul, that neither the Generals nor the chief Flags could be diſcerned. And though the Storm continued very violent the next Day, a good Part of the Fleet got again together, and ſtood to the Bay of *Staples*, were the *Dutch* ſtill remained cloſe under the Shore at Anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the *Engliſh* found it neceſſary to ſtand farther out to the Sea; and then They diſcovered the reſt of the Fleet at a great Diſtance to the Leeward, and ſo bore after them, and at Night They all arrived at *St. Helen's Point*. And though the Tempeſt ſtill increaſed, a Squadron went every Day out to the Coaſt of *France*.

The Engliſh *Fleet diſperſed by a Storm.*

IN this Tempeſt the *French* Fleet had a very narrow Eſcape, by a Providence They are ſeldom without. A Gentleman of good Quality of that Nation returned at this Time out of *England* (whither They repaired with as much Liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no War, whilſt no *Engliſhman* could be ſafe there); and landing at *Calais*, and finding that the Duke of *Beaufort* was every Day expected, He diſpatched two or three Barks to find him, with Information how and where the *Engliſh* lay; one of which came ſo luckily to him towards the Evening, that He changed his Courſe, and by the Darkneſs of the Night got into the Road of *Diepe*, where He dropped his

The French *Fleet has a narrow Eſcape.*

Anchors. But his Vice-Admiral, being the biggeſt and the beſt Ship but one in the Fleet, and carrying ſeventy Pieces of Cannon, purſuing the Courſe He was directed, in the Dark of the Night fell amongſt the *Engliſh*, as the reſt had done if it had not been for that Advertiſement; and after a little defending himſelf, which He ſaw was to no Purpoſe, was taken Priſoner, and deſired to be brought to Prince *Rupert*, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant Perſon ought to be, and cauſed many Things which belonged to his own Perſon to be reſtored to him; and when He was brought into *England*, He found another Kind of Reception (though He was Priſoner in the *Tower*) than any of the *Engliſh*, though of the ſame Quality, met with abroad. By this Accident the *French* Fleet made a happy Eſcape: And the Continuance of the Storm for many Days kept the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* from any farther Engagement. But the ſame Winds, and at the ſame Time, did much more Miſchief at Land than at Sea.

The Fire of London.

It was upon the firſt Day of that *September*, in the diſmal Year of 1666 (in which many Prodigies were expected and ſo many really fell out), that that memorable and terrible Fire brake out in *London*, which begun about (348) Midnight, or nearer the Morning of *Sunday*, in a Baker's Houſe at the End of *Thames Street* next the *Tower*, there being many little narrow Alleys and very poor Houſes about the Place where it firſt appeared; and then finding ſuch Store of combuſtible Materials, as that Street is always furniſhed with in Timber-Houſes, the Fire prevailed ſo powerfully, that that whole Street and the Neighbourhood was in ſo ſhort a Time turned to Aſhes, that few Perſons had Time to ſave and preſerve any of their Goods; but were a Heap of People almoſt as dead with the ſudden Diſtraction, as the Ruins were which They ſuſtained. The Magiſtrates of the City aſſembled quickly together, and with the uſual Remedies of Buckets, which They were provided with: But the Fire was too ravenous

venous to be extinguiſhed with ſuch Quantities of Water as thoſe Inſtruments could apply to it, and faſtened ſtill upon new Materials before it had deſtroyed the old. And though it raged furiouſly all that Day, to that Degree that all Men ſtood amazed, as Spectators only no Man knowing what Remedy to apply, nor the Magiſtrates what Orders to give: Yet it kept within ſome Compaſs, burned what was next, and laid Hold only on Both Sides; and the greateſt Apprehenſion was of the *Tower*, and all Conſiderations entered upon how to ſecure that Place.

BUT in the Night the Wind changed, and carried the Danger from thence, but with ſo great and irreſiſtible Violence, that as it kept the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets from grappling when they were ſo near each other, ſo it ſcattered the Fire from purſuing the Line it was in with all its Force, and ſpread it over the City: So that They, who went late to Bed at a great Diſtance from any Place where the Fire prevailed, were awakened before Morning with their own Houſe's being in a Flame; and whilſt Endeavour was uſed to quench that, other Houſes were diſcovered to be burning, which were near no Place from whence They could imagine the Fire could come; all which kindled another Fire in the Breaſts of Men, almoſt as dangerous as that within their Houſes.

MONDAY Morning produced firſt a Jealouſy, and then an univerſal Concluſion, that this Fire came not by Chance, nor did They care where it began; but the breaking out in ſeveral Places at ſo great Diſtance from each other made it evident, that it was by Conſpiracy and Combination. And this Determination could not hold long without Diſcovery of the wicked Authors, who were concluded to be all the *Dutch* and all the *French* in the Town, though They had inhabited the ſame Places above twenty Years. All of that Kind, or, if They were Strangers, of what Nation ſoever, were laid Hold of; and after all the ill Uſage that can conſiſt in Words, and ſome Blows and Kicks,

They were thrown into Priſon. And ſhortly after, the ſame Concluſion comprehended all the *Roman Catholicks*, who were in the ſame Predicament of Guilt and Danger, and quickly found that their only Safety conſiſted in keeping within Doors; and yet ſome of them, and of Quality, were taken by Force out of their Houſes and carried to Priſon.

When this Rage ſpread as far as the Fire, and every Hour brought Reports of ſome bloody Effects of it, worſe than in Truth there were, the King diſtributed many of the Privy Council into ſeveral Quarters of the City, to prevent, by their Authorities, thoſe Inhumanities which He heard were committed. In the mean Time, even They or any other Perſon thought it not ſafe to declare, "that They believed that the "Fire came by Accident, or that it was not a Plot of "the *Dutch* and the *French* and *Papiſts* to burn the "City;" which was ſo generally believed, and in the beſt Company, that He who ſaid the Contrary was (349) ſuſpected for a Conſpirator, or at beſt a Favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a Houſe that was diſtant a Mile from any Part of the Fire could ſuddenly be in a Flame, without ſome particular Malice; and this Caſe fell out every Hour. When a Man at the fartheſt End of *Bread-Street* had made a Shift to get out of his Houſe his beſt and moſt portable Goods, becauſe the Fire had approached near them; He no ſooner had ſecured them, as He thought, in ſome Friend's Houſe in *Holborn*, which was believed a ſafe Diſtance, but He ſaw that very Houſe, and none elſe near it, in a ſudden Flame. Nor did there want, in this woful Diſtemper, the Teſtimony of Witneſſes who ſaw this Villany committed, and apprehended Men who They were ready to ſwear threw Fireballs into Houſes, which were preſently burning.

The Lord *Hollis* and Lord *Aſhley*, who had their Quarters aſſigned about *Newgate-Market* and the Streets adjacent, had many brought to them in Cuſtody for Crimes of this Nature; and ſaw, within a very little Diſtance

Diſtance from the Place where They were, the People gathered together in great Diſorder; and as They came nearer ſaw a Man in the Middle of them without a Hat or Cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill uſed, whom They knew to be a Servant to the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, who was preſently brought to them. And a ſubſtantial Citizen was ready to take his Oath, that He ſaw that Man put his Hand in his Pocket, and throw into a Shop a Fireball; upon which He ſaw the Houſe immediately on Fire: Whereupon, being on the other Side of the Way, and ſeeing this, He cried out to the People to ſtop that Gentleman, and made all the Haſte He could himſelf; but the People had firſt ſeized upon him, and taken away his Sword, which He was ready to draw; and He not ſpeaking nor underſtanding *Engliſh*, They had uſed him in the Manner ſet down before. The Lord *Hollis* told him what He was accuſed of, and "that He was ſeen "to have thrown Somewhat out of his Pocket, which "They thought to be a Fireball, into a Houſe which "was now on Fire;" and the People had diligently ſearched his Pockets to find more of the ſame Commodities, but found Nothing that They meant to accuſe him of. The Man ſtanding in great Amazement to hear He was ſo charged, the Lord *Hollis* aſked him, "what it was that He pulled out of his Pocket, and "what it was He threw into the Houſe:" To which He anſwered, "that He did not think that He had put "his Hand into his Pocket; but He remembered very "well, that as He walked in the Street He ſaw a Piece "of Bread upon the Ground, which He took up and "laid upon a Shelf in the next Houſe;" which is a Cuſtom or Superſtition ſo natural to the *Portugueſe*, that if the King of *Portugal* were walking, and ſaw a Piece of Bread upon the Ground, He would take it up with his own Hand, and keep it till He ſaw a fit Place to lay it down.

THE Houſe being in View, the Lords with many of the People walked to it, and found the Piece of Bread

juſt

juſt within the Door upon a Board, where He ſaid He laid it; and the Houſe on Fire was two Doors beyond it, which the Man who was on the other Side of the Way, and ſaw this Man put his Hand into the Houſe without ſtaying, and preſently after the Fire break out, concluded to be the ſame Houſe; which was very natural in the Fright that all Men were in: Nor did the Lords, though They were ſatisfied, ſet the poor Man at Liberty; but, as if there remained Ground enough of Suſpicion, committed him to the Conſtable, to be kept by him in his own Houſe for ſome Hours, when They pretended They would examine him again. Nor were any Perſons who were ſeized upon in the ſame Manner, as Multitudes were in all the Parts of the Town, eſpecially if They were Strangers or *Papiſts*, (350) preſently diſcharged, when there was no reaſonable Ground to ſuſpect; but all ſent to Priſon, where They were in much more Security than They could have been in full Liberty, after They were once known to have been ſuſpected; and moſt of them underſtood their Commitment to be upon that Ground, and were glad of it.

The Fire and the Wind continued in the ſame Exceſs all *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday* till Afternoon, and flung and ſcattered Brands burning into all Quarters; the Nights more terrible than the Days, and the Light the ſame, the Light of the Fire ſupplying that of the Sun. And indeed whoever was an Eyewitneſs of that terrible Proſpect, can never have ſo lively an Image of the laſt Conflagration till He beholds it; the Faces of all People in a wonderful Dejection and Diſcompoſure, not knowing where They could repoſe themſelves for one Hour's Sleep, and no Diſtance thought ſecure from the Fire, which ſuddenly ſtarted up before it was ſuſpected; ſo that People left their Houſes and carried away their Goods from many Places which received no Hurt, and whither They afterwards returned again; all the Fields full of Women and Children, who had made a Shift to bring thither

ſome

ſome Goods and Conveniences to reſt upon, as ſafer than any Houſes, where yet They felt ſuch intolerable Heat and Drought, as if They had been in the Middle of the Fire. The King and the Duke, who rode from one Place to another, and put themſelves into great Dangers amongſt the burning and falling Houſes, to give Advice and Direction what was to be done, underwent as much Fatigue as the meaneſt, and had as little Sleep or Reſt; and the Faces of all Men appeared ghaſtly and in the higheſt Confuſion. The Country ſent in Carts to help thoſe miſerable People who had ſaved any Goods: And by this Means, and the Help of Coaches, all the neighbour Villages were filled with more People than they could contain, and more Goods than they could find Room for; ſo that thoſe Fields became likewiſe as full as the other about *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

IT was obſerved that where the Fire prevailed moſt, when it met with brick Buildings, if it was not repulſed, it was ſo well reſiſted that it made a much ſlower Progreſs; and when it had done its Worſt, that the Timber and all the combuſtible Matter fell, it fell down to the Bottom within the Houſe, and the Walls ſtood and encloſed the Fire, and it was burned out without making a farther Progreſs in many of thoſe Places; and then the Vacancy ſo interrupted the Fury of it, that many Times the two or three next Houſes ſtood without much Damage. Beſides the ſpreading, inſomuch as all *London* ſeemed but one Fire in the Breadth of it, it ſeemed to continue in its full Fury a direct Line to the *Thames* Side, all *Cheapſide* from beyond the *Exchange*, through *Fleet-Street*; inſomuch as for that Breadth, taking in Both Sides as far as the *Thames*, there was ſcarce a Houſe or Church ſtanding from the Bridge to *Dorſet-Houſe*, which was burned on *Tueſday* Night after *Baynard's Caſtle*.

ON *Wedneſday* Morning, when the King ſaw that neither the Fire decreaſed nor the Wind leſſened, He even deſpaired of preſerving *Whitehall*, but was more afraid

afraid of *Westminster-Abbey*. But having observed by his having visited all Places, that where there were any vacant Places between the Houses, by which the Progress of the Fire was interrupted, it changed its Course and went to the other Side; He gave Order for pulling down many Houses about *Whitehall*, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice Goods by Water to *Hampton-Court*; as most of the Persons of Quality in the *Strand*, who had the Benefit of the River, got Barges and other Vessels, and sent their Furniture for their Houses to some Houses some Miles out of the Town. And very many on Both Sides of the *Strand*, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what They did, fled with their Families out of their Houses into the Streets, that They might not be within when the Fire fell upon their Houses.

The Fire decreases.

But it pleased God, contrary to all Expectation, that on *Wednesday*, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Wind fell: And as in an Instant the Fire decreased, having burned all on the *Thames* Side to the New Buildings of the *Inner-Temple* next to *White-Friars*, and having consumed them, was stopped by that Vacancy from proceeding farther into that House; but laid Hold on some old Buildings which joined to *Ram-Alley*, and swept all those into *Fleet-Street*. And the other Side being likewise destroyed to *Fetter-Lane*, it advanced no farther; but left the other Part of *Fleet-Street* to the *Temple-Bar*, and all the *Strand*, unhurt, but what Damage the Owners of the Houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other Parts of the Town near the same Time: So that the greatest Care then was, to keep good Guards to watch the Fire that was upon the Ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because They who had yet their Houses standing had not the Courage to sleep, but watched with much less Distraction; though the same Distemper still remained in the utmost Extent, "that all this had fallen out by the Conspiracy of the

"*French*

"*French* and *Dutch* with the *Papiſts*;" and all Gaols were filled with thoſe who were every Hour apprehended upon that Jealouſy, or rather upon ſome Evidence that They were guilty of the Crime. And the People were ſo ſottiſh, that They believed that all the *French* in the Town (which no Doubt were a very great Number) were drawn into a Body, to proſecute thoſe by the Sword who were preſerved from the Fire: And the Inhabitants of a whole Street have ran in a great Tumult one Way, upon the Rumour that the *French* were marching at the other End of it; ſo terrified Men were with their own Apprehenſions.

WHEN the Night, though far from being a quiet one, had ſomewhat leſſened the Conſternation, the firſt Care the King took was, that the Country might ſpeedily ſupply Markets in all Places, that They who had ſaved themſelves from burning might not be in Danger of ſtarving; and if there had not been extraordinary Care and Diligence uſed, many would have periſhed that Way. The vaſt Deſtruction of Corn, and all other Sorts of Proviſions, in thoſe Parts where the Fire had prevailed, had not only left all that People deſtitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the Bakers and Brewers, which inhabited the other Parts, which were unhurt, had forſaken their Houſes, and carried away all that was portable: Inſomuch as many Days paſſed, before They were enough in their Wits and in their Houſes to fall to their Occupations; and thoſe Parts of the Town which God had ſpared and preſerved were many Hours without any Thing to eat, as well as They who were in the Fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a Supply of all Kinds was brought from all Places within four and twenty Hours. And which was more miraculous, in four Days, in all the Fields about the Town, which had ſeemed covered with thoſe whoſe Habitations were burned, and with the Goods which They had ſaved, there was ſcarce a Man to be ſeen: All found Shelter in ſo ſhort a Time, either in thoſe Parts which remained

mained of the City and in the Suburbs, or in the neighbour Villages; all Kind of People expreſſing a marvellous Charity towards thoſe who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more Expedition than can be conceived, ſet up little Sheds of Brick and Timber upon the Ruins of their own Houſes, where They choſe rather to inhabit than in more convenient Places, though They knew They could not long reſide in thoſe new Buildings.

THE King was not more troubled at any Particular, than at the Imagination which poſſeſſed the Hearts of ſo many, that all this Miſchief had fallen out by a real and formed Conſpiracy; which, albeit He ſaw no Colour to believe, He found very many intelligent Men, and even ſome of his own Council, who did really believe it. Whereupon He appointed the Privy Council to ſit both Morning and Evening, to examine all Evidence of that Kind that ſhould be brought before them, and to ſend for any Perſons who had been committed to Priſon upon ſome Evidence that made the greateſt Noiſe; and ſent for the Lord Chief Juſtice, who was in the Country, to come to the Town for the better Examination of all Suggeſtions and Allegations of that Kind, there having been ſome malicious Report ſcattered about the Town, "that the Court had "ſo great a Prejudice againſt any Kind of Teſtimony "of ſuch a Conſpiracy, that They diſcountenanced all "Witneſſes who came before them to teſtify what "They knew;" which was without any Colour of Truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their Teſtimony would remove all Doubts, made ſuch ſenſeleſs Relations of what They had been told, without knowing the Condition of the Perſons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard Matter to forbear ſmiling at their Evidence. Some *Frenchmen's* Houſes had been ſearched, in which had been found many of thoſe Shells for Squibs and other Fireworks, frequently uſed in Nights of Joy and Triumph; and the Men were well known, and had lived many Years there

there by that Trade, and had no other: And one of these was the King's Servant, and employed by the Office of Ordnance for making Grenades of all Kinds, as well for the Hand as for Mortarpieces. Yet these Men were looked upon as in the Number of the Conspirators, and remained still in Prison till their Neighbours solicited for their Liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general Rage of the People no Mischief was done to the Strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

THERE was a very odd Accident that confirmed many in what They were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the Conspiracy impossible, since no Combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that Mischief, in which the immediate Hand of God was so visible. Amongst many *Frenchmen* who had been sent to *Newgate*, there was one *Hubert*, a young Man of five or six and twenty Years of Age, the Son of a famous Watchmaker in the City of *Roan*; and this Fellow had wrought in the same Profession with several Men in *London*, and had for many Years both in *Roan* and in *London* been looked upon as distracted. This Man confessed "that He "had set the first House on Fire, and that He had been "hired in *Paris* a Year before to do it: That there "were three more combined with him to do the same "Thing, and that They came over together into *Eng-* "*land* to put it in Execution in the Time of the "Plague; but when They were in *London*, He and "two of his Companions went into *Sweden*, and re- "turned from thence in the latter End of *August*, and "He resolved to undertake it; and that the two others "went away into *France*."

Hubert's *strange Confession.*

THE whole Examination was so senseless, that the Chief Justice, who was not looked upon as a Man who wanted Rigour, did not believe any Thing He said. He was asked, "who it was in *Paris* that suborned "him to this Action:" To which He answered, "that "He

"He did not know, having never ſeen him before;" and in the enlarging upon that Point He contradicted himſelf in many Particulars. Being aſked "what "Money He had received to perform a Service of ſo "much Hazard," He ſaid, "He had received but a "*Piſtole*, but was promiſed five *Piſtoles* more when He "ſhould have done his Work;" and many ſuch unreaſonable Things, that Nobody preſent credited any Thing He ſaid. However They durſt not ſlight the Evidence, but put him to a Particular, in which He ſo fully confirmed all that He had ſaid before, that They were ſurpriſed with Wonder, and knew not afterwards what to ſay or think. They aſked him, "if "He knew the Place where He firſt put Fire;" He anſwered, "that He knew it very well, and would "ſhew it to any Body." Upon this the Chief Juſtice, and many Aldermen who ſate with him, ſent a Guard of ſubſtantial Citizens with the Priſoner, that He might ſhew them the Houſe; and They firſt led him to a Place at ſome Diſtance from it, and aſked him "if that were it;" to which He anſwered preſently, "No, it was lower, nearer to the *Thames*." The Houſe and all which were near it were ſo covered and buried in Ruins, that the Owners themſelves, without ſome infallible Mark, could very hardly have ſaid where their own Houſes had ſtood: But this Man led them directly to the Place, deſcribed how it ſtood, the Shape of the little Yard, the Faſhion of the Door and Windows, and where He firſt put the Fire; and all this with ſuch Exactneſs, that They who had dwelt long near it could not ſo perfectly have deſcribed all Particulars.

THIS ſilenced all farther Doubts. And though the Chief Juſtice told the King, "that all his Diſcourſe "was ſo disjointed that He did not believe him guilty;" nor was there one Man who proſecuted or accuſed him: Yet upon his own Confeſſion, and ſo ſenſible a Relation of all that He had done, accompanied with ſo many Circumſtances (though without the leaſt Shew

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of Compunction or Sorrow for what He ſaid He had done, nor yet ſeeming to juſtify or take Delight in it; but being aſked whether He was not ſorry for the Wickedneſs, and whether He intended to do ſo much, He gave no Anſwer at all, or made Reply to what was ſaid; and with the ſame Temper died), the Jury found him guilty, and He was executed accordingly. And though no Man could imagine any Reaſon why a Man ſhould ſo deſperately throw away his Life, which He might have ſaved though He had been guilty, ſince He was only accuſed upon his own Confeſſion; yet neither the Judges nor any preſent at the Trial did believe him guilty, but that He was a poor diſtracted Wretch weary of his Life, and choſe to part with it this Way. Certain it is, that upon the ſtricted Examination that could be afterwards made by the King's Command, and then by the Diligence of the Houſe, that upon the general Jealouſy and Rumour made a Committee, that was very diligent and ſolicitous to make that Diſcovery, there was never any probable Evidence (that poor Creature's only excepted) that there was any other Cauſe of that woful Fire, than the Diſpleaſure of God Almighty: The firſt Accident of the Beginning in a Baker's Houſe, where there was ſo great a Stock of Faggots, and the Neighbourhood of much combuſtible Matter, of Pitch and Roſin and the like, led it in an Inſtant from Houſe to Houſe through *Thames-Street*, with the Agitation of ſo terrible a Wind to ſcatter and diſperſe it.

Upon which He is executed.

LET the Cauſe be what it would, the Effect was very terrible; for above two Parts of three of that great City were burned to Aſhes, and thoſe the moſt rich and wealthy Parts of the City, where the greateſt Warehouſes and the beſt Shops ſtood. The *Royal-Exchange* with all the Streets about it, *Lombard-Street*, *Cheapſide*, *Paternoſter-Row*, *St. Paul's* Church, and almoſt all the other Churches in the City, with the *Old-Bailey*, *Ludgate*, all *Paul's Church-Yard*, even to the *Thames*, and the greateſt Part of *Fleet-Street*, all which were

were Places the beſt inhabited, were all burned without one Houſe remaining.

The ineſtimable Loſs ſuſtained by the Fire.

THE Value or Eſtimate of what that devouring Fire conſumed, over and above the Houſes, could never be computed in any Degree: For beſides that the firſt Night (which in a Moment ſwept away the vaſt Wealth of *Thames-Street*) there was not any Thing that could be preſerved in Reſpect of the Suddenneſs and Amazement (all People being in their Beds till the Fire was in their Houſes, and ſo could ſave Nothing but themſelves), the next Day with the Violence of the Wind increaſed the Diſtraction; nor did many believe that the Fire was near them, or that They had Reaſon to remove their Goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impoſſible. Then it fell out at a Seaſon in the Year, the Beginning of *September*, when very many of the ſubſtantial Citizens and other wealthy Men were in the Country, whereof many had not left a Servant in their Houſes, thinking themſelves upon all ordinary Accidents more ſecure in the Goodneſs and Kindneſs of their Neighbours, than They could be in the Fidelity of a Servant; and whatſoever was in ſuch Houſes was entirely conſumed by the Fire, or loſt as to the Owners. And of this *Claſſis* of abſent Men, when the Fire came where the Lawyers had Houſes, as They had in many Places, eſpecially *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-Street*, with that Part of the *Inner-Temple* that was next it and *White-Friars*, there was ſcarce a Man to whom thoſe Lodgings appertained who was in the Town: So that whatſoever was there, their Money, Books and Papers, beſides the Evidences of many Men's Eſtates depoſited in their Hands, were all burned or loſt, to a very great Value. But of particular Men's Loſſes could never be made any Computation.

IT was an incredible Damage that was and might rationally be computed to be ſuſtained by one ſmall Company, the Company of Stationers, in Books, Paper, and the other leſſer Commodities which are vendible in that Corporation, which amounted to no leſs than

than two hundred thouſand Pounds: In which prodigious Loſs there was one Circumſtance very lamentable. All thoſe who dwelt near *Paul's* carried their Goods, Books, Paper, and the like, as others of greater Trades did their Commodities, into the large Vaults which were under *St. Paul's* Church, before the Fire came thither: Which Vaults, though all the Church above the Ground was afterwards burned, with all the Houſes round about, ſtill ſtood firm and ſupported the Foundation, and preſerved all that was within them; until the Impatience of thoſe who had loſt their Houſes, and whatſoever They had elſe, in the Fire, made them very deſirous to ſee what They had ſaved, upon which all their Hopes were founded to repair the reſt.

IT was the fourth Day after the Fire ceaſed to flame, though it ſtill burned in the Ruins, from whence there was ſtill an intolerable Heat, when the Bookſellers eſpecially, and ſome other Tradeſmen, who had depoſited all They had preſerved in the greateſt and moſt ſpacious Vault, came to behold all their Wealth, which to that Moment was ſafe: But the Doors were no ſooner opened, and the Air from without fanned the ſtrong Heat within, but firſt the dryeſt and moſt combuſtible Matters broke into a Flame, which conſumed all, of what Kind ſoever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet They who had committed their Goods to ſome leſſer Vaults, at a Diſtance from that greater, had better Fortune; and having learned from the ſecond Ruin of their Friends to have more Pa-
(sss) tience, attended till the Rain fell, and extinguiſhed the Fire in all Places, and cooled the Air: And then They ſecurely opened the Doors, and received all from thence that They had there.

IF ſo vaſt a Damage as two hundred thouſand Pounds befell that little Company of Stationers in Books and Paper and the like, what ſhall we conceive was loſt in Cloth (of which the Country Clothiers loſt all that They had brought up to *Blackwell-Hall* againſt

Michaelmaſs, which was all burned with that fair Structure), in Silks of all Kinds, in Linen, and thoſe richer Manufactures? Not to ſpeak of Money, Plate and Jewels, whereof ſome were recovered out of the Ruins of thoſe Houſes which the Owners took Care to watch, as containing Somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which Deluge there were Men ready enough to fiſh.

THE Lord Mayor, though a very honeſt Man, was much blamed for Want of Sagacity in the firſt Night of the Fire, before the Wind gave it much Advancement: For though He came with great Diligence as ſoon as He had Notice of it, and was preſent with the firſt, yet having never been uſed to ſuch Spectacles, his Conſternation was equal to that of other Men, nor did He know how to apply his Authority to the remedying the preſent Diſtreſs; and when Men who were leſs terrified with the Object preſſed him very earneſtly, "that He would give Order for the preſent pulling "down thoſe Houſes which were neareſt, and by "which the Fire climbed to go farther" (the doing whereof at that Time might probably have prevented much of the Miſchief that ſucceeded), He thought it not ſafe Counſel, and made no other Anſwer, "than "that He durſt not do it without the Conſent of the "Owners." His Want of Skill was the leſs wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that ſome Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* would not endeavour to preſerve the Goods which were in the Lodgings of abſent Perſons, nor ſuffer others to do it, "becauſe," They ſaid, "it was againſt the Law to break up any "Man's Chamber."

THE ſo ſudden Repair of thoſe formidable Ruins, and the giving ſo great Beauty to all Deformity (a Beauty and a Luſtre that City had never before been acquainted with), is little leſs wonderful than the Fire that conſumed it.

IT was hoped and expected that this prodigious and univerſal Calamity, for the Effects of it covered the whole

whole Kingdom, would have made Impreſſion, and produced ſome Reformation in the Licenſe of the Court: For as the Pains the King had taken Night and Day during the Fire, and the Dangers He had expoſed himſelf to, even for the ſaving the Citizens Goods, had been very notorious, and in the Mouths of all Men, with good Wiſhes and Prayers for him; ſo his Majeſty had been heard during that Time to ſpeak with great Piety and Devotion of the Diſpleaſure that God was provoked to. And no Doubt the deep Senſe of it did raiſe many good Thoughts and Purpoſes in his Royal Breaſt. But He was narrowly watched and looked to, that ſuch melancholick Thoughts might not long poſſeſs him, the Conſequence and Effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the Fire itſelf; of which that looſe Company that was too much cheriſhed, even before it was extinguiſhed, diſcourſed as of an Argument for Mirth and Wit to deſcribe the Wildneſs of the Confuſion all People were in; in which the Scripture itſelf was uſed with equal Liberty, when They could apply it to their prophane Purpoſes. And Mr. *May* preſumed to aſſure the King, "that this was the greateſt Bleſſing "that God had ever conferred upon him, his Reſto- "ration only excepted: For the Walls and Gates be- "ing now burned and thrown down of that rebellious "City, which was always an Enemy to the Crown, "his Majeſty would never ſuffer them to repair and (356) "build them up again to be a *Bit in his Mouth and a* "*Bridle upon his Neck*; but would keep all open, that "his Troops might enter upon them whenever He "thought neceſſary for his Service, there being no "other Way to govern that rude Multitude but by "Force."

The King ſeriouſly affected with this Calamity.

Meaſures taken to efface ſuch good Impreſſions in him.

THIS Kind of Diſcourſe did not pleaſe the King, but was highly approved by the Company; and for the Wit and Pleaſantneſs of it was repeated in all Companies, infinitely to the King's Diſſervice, and corrupted the Affections of the Citizens and of the Coun-

try, who uſed and aſſumed the ſame Liberty to publiſh the Profaneneſs and Atheiſm of the Court. And as Nothing was done there in private, ſo it was made more publick in Paſquils and Libels, which were as bold with Reflections of the broadeſt Nature upon the King himſelf, and upon thoſe in whoſe Company He was moſt delighted, as upon the meaneſt Perſon.

ALL Men of Virtue and Sobriety, of which there were very many in the King's Family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what They could not chooſe but hear, and ſeeing many Things which They could not avoid the ſeeing. There were few of the Council that did not to one another lament the Exceſſes, which muſt in Time be attended with fatal Conſequences, and for the preſent did apparently leſſen the Reverence to the King, that is the beſt Support of his Royalty: But few of them had the Courage to ſay that to his Majeſty, which was not ſo fit to be ſaid to any Body elſe. Nor can it be denied, that his Majeſty did, upon all Occaſions, receive thoſe Advertiſements from thoſe who preſented them to him, with Patience and Benignity, and without the leaſt Shew of Diſpleaſure; though the Perſons concerned endeavoured no one Thing more than to perſuade him, "that it was "the higheſt Preſumption imaginable in the Privy "Council to believe, that They had any Juriſdiction "in the Court, or ought to cenſure the Manners of it."

And to leſſen his Eſteem of the Privy Council.

NOR were all thoſe Endeavours without making ſome Impreſſion upon his Majeſty, who rather eſteemed ſome particular Members of it, than was inclined to believe that the Body of it ought to receive a Reverence from the People, or be looked upon as a vital Part of the Government: In which his Majeſty (as hath been often ſaid before) by the ill Principles He had received in *France*, and the accuſtomed Liberty of his Bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily miſtaken. For by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the very Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation, as the Privy Council and every Member of it is of the King's

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ſole Choice and Election of him to that Truſt (for the greateſt Office in the State, though conferred likewiſe by the King himſelf, doth not qualify the Officer to be of the Privy Council, or to be preſent in it, before by a new Aſſignation that Honour is beſtowed on him, and that He be ſworn of the Council); ſo the Body of it is the moſt ſacred, and hath the greateſt Authority in the Government of the State, next the Perſon of the King himſelf, to whom all other Powers are equally ſubject: And no King of *England* can ſo well ſecure his own juſt Prerogative or preſerve it from Violation, as by a ſtrict defending and ſupporting the Dignity of his Privy Council.

WHEN it was too much taken Notice of, that the King himſelf had not that Eſteem or Conſideration of the Council that was due to it, what They did or ordered to be done was leſs valued by the People; and that Diſreſpect every Day improved by the Want of Gravity and Juſtice and Conſtancy in the Proceedings there, the Reſolutions of one Day being reverſed or altered the next, either upon ſome Whiſpers in the King's Ear, or ſome new Fancy in ſome of thoſe Counſellors, who were always of one Mind againſt all former Orders and Precedents; the Pride and inſolent (357) Humour of Sir *William Coventry* taking not ſo much Delight in any Thing, as to croſs and oppoſe whatſoever the Chancellor or the Treaſurer adviſed, and to reverſe what had been ordered upon that Ground. And though He had ſucked his Milk at the Charge of the Law, no Man was ſo profeſſed an Enemy to it and to the Profeſſors of it, and ſhewed ſo little Reſpect to any Thing paſſed and granted under the Great Seal of *England*, but ſpake againſt it with the ſame Confidence as if it had been a common Scroll of no Signification; which Kind of Behaviour in a Perſon unqualified by any Office to ſpeak much in ſuch an Aſſembly, as it had never been accuſtomed, ſo it would have found much Reprehenſion there, if it had not been for Reſpect to the Duke, and if the King himſelf had not

very often declared himſelf to be of his Opinion, even in Particulars which himſelf had cauſed to be propoſed to a contrary Purpoſe.

One Day his Majeſty called the Chancellor to him, and complained very much of the Licenſe that was aſſumed in the Coffeehouſes, which were the Places where the boldeſt Calumnies and Scandals were raiſed, and diſcourſed amongſt a People who knew not each other, and came together only for that Communication, and from thence were propagated over the Kingdom; and mentioned ſome particular Rumours which had been lately diſperſed from thoſe Fountains, which on his own Behalf He was enough diſpleaſed with, and aſked him what was to be done in it.

The Chancellor concurred with him in the Senſe of the Scandal, and the Miſchief that muſt attend the Impunity of ſuch Places, where the fouleſt Imputations were laid upon the Government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every Body but to the Magiſtrates, who might examine and puniſh them; of which there having yet been no Precedent, People generally believed that thoſe Houſes had a Charter of Privilege to ſpeak what They would, without being in Danger to be called in Queſtion: And "that it was high Time for his Majeſty to apply ſome "Remedy to ſuch a growing Diſeaſe, and to reform "the Underſtanding of thoſe who believed that no "Remedy could be applied to it. That it would be "fit, either by a Proclamation to forbid all Perſons "to reſort to thoſe Houſes, and ſo totally to ſuppreſs "them; or to employ ſome Spies, who, being pre-"ſent in the Converſation, might be ready to charge "and accuſe the Perſons who had talked with moſt "Licenſe in a Subject that would bear a Complaint; "upon which the Proceedings might be in ſuch a "Manner, as would put an End to the Confidence that "was only miſchievous in thoſe Meetings." The King liked Both the Expedients, and thought that the laſt could not juſtly be made Uſe of till the former

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ſhould give fair Warning; and commanded him to propoſe it that ſame Day in Council, that ſome Order might be given in it.

THE Chancellor propoſed it, as He was required, with ſuch Arguments as were like to move with Men who knew the Inconveniences which aroſe from thoſe Places; and the King himſelf mentioned it with Paſſion, as derogatory to the Government, and directed that the Attorney might prepare a Proclamation for the Suppreſſion of thoſe Houſes, in which the Board ſeemed to agree: When Sir *William Coventry*, who had been heard within few Days before to inveigh with much Fierceneſs againſt the Permiſſion of ſo much ſeditious Prattle in the Impunity of thoſe Houſes, ſtood up, and ſaid, "that Coffee was a Commodity that "yielded the King a good Revenue, and therefore it "would not be juſt to receive the Duties and inhibit "the Sale of it, which many Men found to be very (358) "good for their Health," as if it might not be bought and drank but in thoſe licentious Meetings. "That "it had been permitted in *Cromwell's* Time, and that "the King's Friends had uſed more Liberty of Speech "in thoſe Places than They durſt do in any other; "and that He thought it would be better to leave "them as they were, without running the Hazard of "Ill being continued notwithſtanding his Command "to the Contrary." And upon theſe Reaſons his Majeſty was converted, and declined any farther Debate; which put the Chancellor very much out of Countenance, nor knew He how to behave himſelf.

The Chancellor's Intereſt declines: Whilſt the Courtiers affect to repreſent it at the higheſt.

THE Truth is: He had a very hard Province, and found his Credit every Day to decay with the King; whilſt They who prevailed againſt him uſed all the Skill and Cunning They had to make it believed, "that his Power with his Majeſty was as great as it "had ever been, and that all thoſe Things which He "moſt oppoſed were acted by his Advice." And whilſt They procured all thoſe for whom He had Kindneſs, or who profeſſed any Reſpect towards him,

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to be diſcountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but ſuch who were known to have an Averſion for him upon Somewhat that He had, or They had been told that He had, obſtructed their Pretences in; They perſuaded Men, "that Nobody had any Credit "with the King to diſpoſe of any Place but He."

THOSE very Men would often profeſs to him, "that "They were ſo much afflicted at the King's Courſe of "Life, that They even deſpaired that He would be "able to maſter thoſe Difficulties which would ſtill "preſs him;" and would then tell him ſome Particulars which He himſelf had ſaid or done, or had been ſaid or done lately in his own Preſence, and of which He had never heard before; which gave him Occaſion often to blame them, "that They, who had the Op-"portunity to ſee and know many Things which He "had no Notice of or could not take any, and fore-"ſaw the Conſequence that did attend them, did yet "forbear to uſe the Credit They had with his Majeſty, "in advertiſing him what They thought and heard all "others ſay;" and He offered "to go with them to "his Majeſty, and make a lively Repreſentation to "him of the great Decay of his Reputation with the "People upon his exorbitant Exceſſes, which God "could never bleſs:" To all which They were not aſhamed to confeſs, "that They never had nor durſt "ſpeak to his Majeſty to that Purpoſe, or in ſuch a "Dialect." Indeed They were the honeſter Men in not doing it, for it had been groſs Hypocriſy to have found Fault with thoſe Actions, upon the purſuing whereof They moſt depended; and the Reformation which They would have been glad to have ſeen, had no Relation to thoſe inordinate and unlawful Appetites, which were the Root from whence all the other Miſchiefs had their Birth. They did not wiſh that the Lady's Authority and Power ſhould be leſſened, much leſs extinguiſhed; and that which would have been the moſt univerſal Bleſſing to the whole Kingdom, would have been received by them as the greateſt Curſe that could befall them.

ONE

ONE Day the Chancellor and the Lord *Arlington* were together alone, and the Secretary according to his Cuſtom was ſpeaking ſoberly of many great Miſcarriages by the Licenſe of the Court, and how much his Majeſty ſuffered thereby; when the King ſuddenly came into the Room to them, and after He was ſate aſked them what They were talking of; to which the Chancellor anſwered "that He would tell him honeſtly and truly, "and was not ſorry for the Opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled Countenance, He proceeded and ſaid, "that They were ſpeaking of his "Majeſty, and, as They did frequently, were bewail- "ing the unhappy Life He lived, both with Reſpect "to himſelf, who, by the Exceſs of Pleaſures which "He indulged to himſelf, was indeed without the true "Delight and Reliſh of any; and in Reſpect to his "Government, which He totally neglected, and of "which the Kingdom was ſo ſenſible, that it could "not be long before He felt the ill Effects of it. "That the People were well prepared and well inclined "to obey; but if They found that He either would "not or could not command, their Temper would "quickly be changed, and He would find leſs Obedi- "ence in all Places, than was neceſſary for his Affairs: "And that it was too evident and viſible, that He "had already loſt very much of the Affection and Re- "verence the Nation had for him."

Arlington laments to the Chancellor the King's Courſe of Life: The King enters the Room.

To whom the Chancellor repeats the Diſcourſe.

HE ſaid, "that this was the Subject They two were "diſcourſing upon when his Majeſty entered; and "that it is the Argument, upon which all thoſe of his "Council with whom He had any Converſation did "every Day enlarge, when They were together, with "Grief of Heart, and even with Tears; and that He "hoped that ſome of them did, with that Duty that "became them, repreſent to his Majeſty their own "Senſe, and the Senſe his good Subjects had, of his "Condition of living, both with Reference to God "who had wrought ſuch Miracles for him, and ex- "pected ſome proportionable Return; and with Re- "ference

" ference to his People, who were in the higheſt Diſ-
" content. He doubted all Men did not diſcharge
" their Duty this Way; and ſome had confeſſed to
" him *that They durſt not do it leſt They might offend him,*
" *which* He had aſſured them often *that They would not*
" *do, having had ſo often Experience himſelf of his Good-*
" *neſs in that Reſpect*; and that He had the rather ta-
" ken this Opportunity to make this Repreſentation
" to him in the Preſence of another, which he had
" never uſed to do:" And concluded " with beſeech-
" ing his Majeſty to believe That which He had often
" ſaid to him, *that no Prince could be more miſerable, nor*
" *could have more Reaſon to fear his own Ruin, than He*
" *who hath no Servants who dare contradict him in his*
" *Opinions, or adviſe him againſt his Inclinations how na-*
" *tural ſoever.*"

THE King heard all this and more to the ſame Effect with his uſual Temper (for He was a patient Hearer), and ſpake ſenſibly, as if He thought that much that had been ſaid was with too much Reaſon; when the other, who wiſhed not ſuch an Effect from the Diſcourſe, inſtead of ſeconding any Thing that had been ſaid, made Uſe of the Warmth the Chancellor was in, and of ſome Expreſſions He had uſed, to fall into Raillery, which was his beſt Faculty; with which He diverted the King from any farther ſerious Reflections; and Both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch Severity, now He grew old and conſidered not the Infirmities of younger Men: Which increaſed the Paſſion He was in, and provoked him to ſay, " that it was obſerved abroad, that
" it was a Faculty very much improved of late in the
" Court, to laugh at thoſe Arguments They could not
" anſwer, and which would always be requited with
" the ſame Mirth amongſt thoſe who were Enemies
" to it, and therefore it was Pity that it ſhould be ſo
" much embraced by thoſe who pretended to be
" Friends;" and to uſe ſome other, too plain Expreſſions, which it may be were not warily enough uſed,

Arlington puts it off with Raillery.

uſed, and which the good Lord forgot not to put the King in Mind of, and to deſcant upon the Preſumption, in a Seaſon that was more ripe for ſuch Reflections, which at the preſent He forbore to do, and for ſome Time after remembered only in merry Occaſions.

THOUGH the King did not yet, nor in a good Time after, appear to diſlike the Liberty the Chancellor preſumed to take with him (who often told him, (60) "that He knew He made himſelf grievous to him, "and gave his Enemies too great Advantages againſt "him; but that the Conſcience of having done his "Duty, and having never failed to inform his Ma-"jeſty of any Thing that was fit for him to know and "to believe, was the only Support He had to bear "the preſent Trouble of his Mind, and to prepare "him for thoſe Diſtreſſes which He foreſaw He was "to undergo:" Which his Majeſty heard with great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, and vouchſafed ſtill to tell him, "that it was in Nobody's Power to divert "his Kindneſs from him"): Yet He found every Day that ſome Arguments grew leſs acceptable to him, and that the conſtant Converſation with Men of great Profaneneſs, whoſe Wit conſiſted in abuſing Scripture, and in repeating and acting what the Preachers ſaid in their Sermons, and turning it into Ridicule (a Faculty in which the Duke of *Buckingham* excelled), did much leſſen the natural Eſteem and Reverence He had for the Clergy; and inclined him to conſider them as a Rank of Men that compounded a Religion for their own Advantage, and to ſerve their own Turns. Nor was all He could ſay to him of Weight enough to make Impreſſion to the Contrary.

The King complains to the Chancellor of the Liberties taken with his Character.

AND then He ſeemed to think, "that Men were "bolder in the examining his Actions and cenſuring "them than They ought to be:" And once He told him, "that He thought He was more ſevere againſt "common Infirmities than He ſhould be; and that "his Wife was not courteous in returning Viſits and "Civilities to thoſe who paid her Reſpect; and that

"He

"He expected that all his Friends ſhould be very kind "to thoſe who They knew were much loved by him, "and that He thought ſo much Juſtice was due to "him."

THE Chancellor, who had never diſſembled with him, but on the Contrary had always endeavoured to perſuade him to believe, that Diſſimulation was the moſt diſhoneſt and ungentlemanly Quality that could be affected, anſwered him very roundly, "that He "might ſeem not to underſtand his Meaning, and ſo "make no Reply to the Diſcourſe He had made: But "that He underſtood it all, and the Meaning of every "Word of it; and therefore that it would not become "him to ſuffer his Majeſty to depart with an Opinion, "that what He had ſaid would produce any Alteration "in his Behaviour towards him, or Reformation of "his Manners towards any other Perſons."

The Chancellor ſeriouſly remonſtrates with him.

"THAT for the firſt Part, the Liberty Men took "to ſpeak of him and to cenſure his Actions, He was "of the Opinion that it was a very great Pre-"ſumption, and a Crime very fit to be puniſhed: "For let it be true or falſe, Men had been always ſe-"verely chaſtiſed for that Licenſe, becauſe it tended "to Sedition. However He put his Majeſty in Mind "of the Example of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who, when "one of his Servants accuſed a Perſon of Condition to "him of having ſpoken ill of him, and offered to go "himſelf to the Magiſtrate and make Proof of it, an-"ſwered him; *that the Perſon He accuſed was a Man of* "*the greateſt Reputation of Wiſdom and Integrity in the* "*Kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the firſt Place* "*to examine, whether himſelf* (the King) *had not done* "*Somewhat by which He had deſerved to be ſo ſpoken of:* "Indeed this Way the beſt Men would often receive "Benefit from their worſt Enemies. For the Matter "itſelf," He ſaid, "He need make no Apology: "For that it was notoriouſly known, that He had "conſtantly given it in Charge to all the Judges, to "make diligent Inquiry into Miſdemeanours and

"Tranſ-

"Tranſgreſſions of that Magnitude, and to puniſh "thoſe who were guilty in the moſt exemplary Man- "ner; and that He took not more Pains any Way, "than to preſerve in the Hearts of the People that "Veneration for his Perſon that is due to his Dignity, "and to perſuade many who appeared afflicted with "the Reports They heard, *that They heard more than* "*was true*; *and that the ſuppreſſing all Reports of that* "*Kind was the Duty of every good Subject, and would con-* "*tribute more towards the reforming any Thing that in* "*Truth is amiſs, than the propagating the Scandal by* "*ſpreading it in Diſcourſes could do.* However that all "this which was his Duty, and but his Duty, did not "make it unfit for him, or any other under his Ob- "ligations, in fit Seaſons to make a lively Repreſen- "tation to his Majeſty of what is done, and how ſe- "cretly ſoever, that cannot be juſtified or excuſed; "and of the Untruths and Scandals which ſpring from "thence to his irreparable Diſhonour and Prejudice."

"FOR the other Part, of Want of Ceremony and "Reſpect to thoſe who were loved and eſteemed by "his Majeſty, He might likewiſe avoid enlarging "upon that Subject, by putting his Majeſty in Mind, "that He had the Honour to ſerve him in a Province "that excuſed him from making Viſits, and exempt- "ed him from all Ceremonies of that Kind. But He "would not ſhelter himſelf under ſuch a general De- "fence, when He perceived that his Majeſty had in "the Reprehenſion a particular Intention: And there- "fore He confeſſed ingenuouſly to his Majeſty, that "He did deny himſelf many Liberties, which in them- "ſelves might be innocent enough and agreeable to "his Perſon, becauſe They would not be decent or "agreeable to the Office He held, which obliged him "for his Majeſty's Honour, and to preſerve him from "the Reproach of having put a light Perſon into a grave "Place, to have the more Care of his own Carriage "and Behaviour. And that, as it would reflect upon "his Majeſty himſelf, if his Chancellor was known or

"thought

"thought to be of diſſolute and debauched Manners, "which would make him as uncapable as unworthy "to do him Service; ſo it would be a Blemiſh and "Taint upon him to give any Countenance, or to pay "more than ordinary, curſory and unavoidable Civi- "lities, to Perſons infamous for any Vice, for which "by the Laws of God and Man They ought to be "odious, and to be expoſed to the Judgment of the "Church and State. And that He would not for his "own Sake and for his own Dignity, to how low a "Condition ſoever He might be reduced, ſtoop to "ſuch a Condeſcenſion as to have the leaſt Commerce, "or to make the Application of a Viſit, to any ſuch "Perſon, for any Benefit or Advantage that it might "bring to him. He did beſeech his Majeſty not to "believe, that He hath a Prerogative to declare Vice "Virtue; or to qualify any Perſon who lives in a Sin "and avows it, againſt which God himſelf hath pro- "nounced Damnation, for the Company and Conver- "ſation of innocent and worthy Perſons. And that "whatever low Obedience, which was in Truth groſs "Flattery, ſome People might pay to what They be- "lieved would be grateful to his Majeſty, They had "in their Hearts a perfect Deteſtation of the Perſons "They made Addreſs to: And that for his Part He "was long reſolved that his Wife ſhould not be one "of thoſe Courtiers; and that He would himſelf much "leſs like her Company, if She put herſelf into theirs "who had not the ſame Innocence."

The King was not the more pleaſed for the Defence He made, and did not diſſemble his Diſlike of it, without any other Sharpneſs, than by telling him "that He was in the Wrong, and had an Underſtand- "ing different from all other Men who had Experi- "ence in the World." And it is moſt certain, it was an avowed Doctrine, and with great Addreſs daily in- ſinuated to the King, "that Princes had many Liber- "ties which private Perſons have not; and that a "Lady of Honour who dedicates herſelf only to pleaſe

"a King,

"a King, and continues faithful to him, ought not "to be branded with any Name or Mark of Infamy, "but hath been always looked upon by all Perſons "wellbred as worthy of Reſpect:" And to this Purpoſe the Hiſtory of all the Amours of his Grandfather were carefully preſented to him, and with what Indignation He ſuffered any Diſreſpect towards any of his Miſtreſſes.

BUT of all theſe Artifices the Chancellor had no Apprehenſion, out of the Confidence He had in the Integrity of the King's Nature; and that though He might be ſwayed to ſacrifice his preſent Affections to his Appetite, He could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real Suſpicion of his very paſſionate Affection and Duty to his Perſon. That which gave him moſt Trouble, and many Times made him wiſh himſelf in any private Condition ſeparated from the Court, was that Unfixedneſs and Irreſolution of Judgment that was natural to all his Family of the Male Line, which often expoſed them all to the Importunities of bold, and to the Snares of crafty Men.

ONE Day the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor together; and the King told him with a very viſible Trouble in his Countenance, "that They were "come to confer and adviſe with him upon an Affair "of Importance, which exceedingly diſquieted them "Both. That *Dick Talbot*" (which was the familiar Appellation, according to the ill Cuſtom of the Court, that moſt Men gave him) "had a Reſolution to aſ- "ſaſſinate the Duke of *Ormond*. That He had ſworn "in the Preſence of two or three Perſons of Honour, "*that He would do it in the Revenge of ſome Injuries* "*which*, He pretended, *He had done his Family: That* "*He had much rather fight with him, which He knew the* "*Duke would be willing enough to do; but That He ſhould* "*never be able to bring to paſs; and therefore He would* "*take his Revenge in any Way that ſhould offer itſelf*. And "every Body knew that the Man had Courage and "Wickedneſs enough to attempt any Thing like it. "That the Duke of *Ormond* knew well enough that

One Talbot, *an* Iriſhman, *deſigns to aſſaſſinate the Duke of* Ormond.

"the

"the Fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act "it; but that He thought it below him to apprehend "it: And that his Majesty came to the Notice of it "by the Earl of *Clancarty*, to whom Sir *Robert Talbot*, "the elder Brother of the other, told it, to the End that "the Earl might give the Duke Notice of it, and find "some Way to prevent it; and the Earl had that Day "informed the King of it, as the best Way He could "think of to prevent it." His Majesty said, "there "remained no Doubt to be made of the Truth of it; "for there were two or three more of unquestionable "Credit who had heard him use the same Expressions: "And that He had first spoken with his Brother, "whose Servant He was, whom He found equally "incensed as himself; and that They came imme- "diately together to consult with him what was to be "done."

An Account of this Man's Family: With the Characters of the five Brothers.

The Chancellor knew all the Brothers well, and was believed to have too much Prejudice to them all. They were all of an *Irish* Family but of ancient *English* Extraction, which had always inhabited within that Circle that was called the *Pale*; which, being originally an *English* Plantation, was in so many hundred Years for the most Part degenerated into the Manners of the *Irish*, and rose and mingled with them in the late Rebellion: And of this Family there were two distinct Families, who had competent Estates, and lived in many Descents in the Rank of Gentlemen of Quality; and those Brothers were all the Sons, or the Grandsons, of one who was a Judge in *Ireland*, and esteemed a learned Man. The eldest was Sir *Robert Talbot*, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse Men: A Man, whom the Duke of *Ormond* most esteemed of those who had been in Re- (56) bellion, as one who had less Malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the King as a Person fit for his Favour. But because He did not ask all on his Behalf, which He must have done for a Man entirely innocent, this Refusal was looked upon as the highest Disobligation.

Sir Robert Talbot, *the eldest.*

The

THE ſecond Brother was a *Jeſuit*, who had been very troubleſome to the King abroad, and had behaved himſelf in ſo inſolent a Manner, that his Majeſty had forbidden him his Court; after which He went into *England*, and applied himſelf to the ruling Power there, and was by that ſent into *Spain*, at the Time when the Treaty was at *Fuentarabia* between the two Crowns, to procure that *England* might be included in that Peace, and the King excluded, and not to be ſuffered to remain in *Flanders*. Of all which his Majeſty having Advertiſement, ſent poſitive Orders to Sir *Harry Bennet* his Reſident then in *Madrid* to complain of him, and to deſire *Don Lewis de Haro*, that He might receive no Countenance in that Court. But the *Jeſuit* had better and more powerful Recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very ſtrange, conſidering his Talent of Underſtanding) in a ſhort Time got ſo much Intereſt in the Reſident, that He received him into all Kind of Familiarity and Truſt, and undertook to reconcile the King to him, and was as good as his Word: And from the Time of his Majeſty's Return, or rather from the Return of Sir *Harry Bennet*, He was as much and as buſy in the Court as if He were a domeſtick Servant. And after the Queen came to *Whitehall*, He was admitted one of her Almoners; and walked with the ſame or more Freedom in the King's Houſe (and in Clergy Habit) than any of his Majeſty's Chaplains did, who did not preſume to be ſeen in the Galleries and other reſerved Rooms, where He was converſant with the ſame Confidence as if He were of the Bedchamber.

Peter, *the ſecond, a* Jeſuit.

THE third Brother was *Gilbert*, who was called Colonel *Talbot* from ſome Command He had with the Rebels againſt the King. And He had likewiſe been with the King in *Flanders*, that is, had lived in *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels* whilſt the King was there; and being a half-witted Fellow did not meddle with any Thing nor angered any Body, but found a Way to get good Cloaths and to play, and was looked upon as a Man

Gilbert, *the third, called Colonel* Talbot.

of Courage, having fought a Duel or two with ſtout Men.

Thomas, *the fourth, a* Franciſcan Friar.

THE fourth Brother was a *Franciſcan Friar*, of Wit enough, but of ſo notorious Debauchery, that He was frequently under ſevere Diſcipline by the Superiours of his Order for his ſcandalous Life, which made him hate his Habit, and take all Opportunities to make Journies into *England* and *Ireland:* But not being able to live there, He was forced to return and put on his abhorred Habit, which He always called his *Fool's Coat*, and came ſeldom into thoſe Places where He was known, and ſo wandered into *Germany* and *Flanders*, and took all Opportunities to be in the Places where the King was; and ſo He came to *Cologne* and *Bruſſels* and *Bruges*, and being a merry Fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his Brother the *Jeſuit*, who had not ſo good natural Parts, though by his Education He had more Sobriety, and lived without Scandal in his Manners. He went by the Name of *Tom Talbot*, and after the King's Return was in *London* in his *Man's Cloaths* (as He called them), with the natural Licenſe of an *Iriſh Friar* (which are a People, for the moſt Part, of the whole Creation the moſt ſottiſh and the moſt brutal), and againſt his Obedience, and all Orders of his Superiours, who interdicted him to ſay Maſs.

Richard, *the fifth, the Perſon concerned.*

THE fifth Brother was this *Dick Talbot*, who gave (364) the King and the Duke the Trouble mentioned before. He was brought into *Flanders* firſt by *Daniel O Neile*, as one who was willing to aſſaſſinate *Cromwell*; and He made a Journey into *England* with that Reſolution not long before his Death, and after it returned into *Flanders* ready to do all that He ſhould be required. He was a very handſome young Man, wore good Cloaths, and was without Doubt of a clear, ready Courage, which was Virtue enough to recommend a Man to the Duke's good Opinion; which, with more Expedition than could be expected, He got to that Degree, that He was made of his Bedchamber; and, from

from that Qualification, embarked himſelf after the King's Return in the Pretences of the *Iriſh*, with ſuch an unuſual Confidence, and upon private Contracts with very ſcandalous Circumſtances, that the Chancellor had ſometimes at the Council-Table been obliged to give him ſevere Reprehenſions, and often deſired the Duke to withdraw his Countenance from him. He had likewiſe declared very loudly againſt the *Jeſuit*, and, though He had made many Addreſſes unto him by Letters and by ſome Friends who had Credit with him, would never from the Time of the King's Return be perſuaded to ſpeak with him, and had once prevailed with the King ſo far, that He was forbid to come to the Court; but He had a Friend, who after ſome Time got that Reſtraint off again. The Chancellor had likewiſe obſerved the *Friar* to be too frequently in the Galleries, and ſometimes drunk there, and cauſed him to be forbid to come into the Court: And the eldeſt Brother, towards whom He had rather Kindneſs than Prejudice, finding many Obſtructions in his Pretences, was perſuaded to think him not his Friend. And ſo He got the Reproach of being an Enemy to the whole Family.

THIS Conſideration did really affect the Chancellor, ſo that He appeared more reſerved and more wary in this Particular propoſed by the King and by the Duke, than He uſed to be. He ſaid, "that in many Re-"ſpects He was not ſo fit to adviſe in this Particular "as other Men were. Though this Man's Behaviour "was ſo ſcandalous that it deſerved exemplary Puniſh-"ment, yet He did not conceive any preſent Danger "from it: That He would deny it and repent it, and "give any other Satisfaction that would be required or "aſſigned; and then his Majeſty and the Duke would "be prevailed with to take off their Diſpleaſure. And "therefore it would be better not to make ſuch a Mat-"ter publick, which, conſidering the Perſon and the "Circumſtances, would make a deep Impreſſion upon "the Minds of all wiſe Men; than, after the World

"takes Notice of it, to paſs it over with a light and "ordinary Puniſhment." The King interrupted him as He was going on, and told him, "there was no "Danger of that, and that He would deal freely with "him. That as the Offence was in itſelf unpardon-"able, ſo He and his Brother were reſolved to take "this Opportunity and Occaſion to free themſelves "from the Importunity of the whole Family: That "all the Brothers were naughty Fellows, and had no "good Meaning." And thereupon his Majeſty enlarged with much Sharpneſs upon the *Jeſuit* and *Friar*, with Charges upon Both very weighty and unanſwerable; and the Duke upon this Man who was the Subject of the Debate: And Both concluded, "that They "ſhould be in great Eaſe by the Abſence of all of "them, which ſhould be enjoined as ſoon as a Reſo-"lution ſhould be taken in this Particular."

THE Chancellor knew that there was ſomewhat elſe, which was not ſo fit to be mentioned, that had offended them Both as much; and thought He had Reaſon to believe that They would be Both reſolute in the Puniſhment, and that They had deliberated it too (365) long to depart from the Proſecution. He therefore adviſed, "that the Gentleman ſhould be preſently ap-"prehended and examined upon the Words, which "ſome Witneſs ſhould be ready to affirm: And that "thereupon He ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*, and the "next Day that his Majeſty ſhould inform the Privy "Council of the Whole, which without Queſtion "would give Direction to his Attorney General to "proſecute this foul Miſdemeanour in ſuch a Manner, "that ſhould put this Gentleman in ſuch a Condition, "that He ſhould not trouble the Court with his At-"tendance; and other Men ſhould by his Example "find, that their Tongues are not their own, to be "employed according to their own malicious Plea-"ſures."

He is ſent to the Tower *by the Chancellor's Advice.*

THE Perſon was the ſame Night ſent to the *Tower*; and both the King and the Duke declared themſelves, in

in the Preſence of their Servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as poſitively reſolved to take as much Vengeance upon the impudent Preſumption of the Offender as the Rigour of the Law would inflict, as ever They had done upon any Occurrence and Accident in their Lives: And if They had had Perſons enough about them, who out of a juſt Senſe of their Honour would have confirmed them in the Judgment They were of, it would have been in Nobody's Power to have ſhaken them. But as from the firſt Day of his Commitment, the Servants near the Perſon both of the King and Duke preſumed, againſt all ancient Order (which made it a Crime in any to perform thoſe Civilities to Perſons declared to be under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure), to viſit Mr. *Talbot*, and to cenſure thoſe who had adviſed his Commitment; ſo after ſome few Days, when They thought the Duke's Paſſion in ſome Degree abated, the Lord *Berkley* confidently told the Duke, "that He ſuffered much in the Opinion of the World, "in permitting a Servant of ſo near Relation to be "committed to Priſon for a few haſty and unadviſed "Words, to which He had been provoked; and that "it was well enough known that it was by the Con-"trivance and Advice of the Chancellor, who was "taken Notice of to be an Enemy to that whole Fa-"mily, nor any great Friend to any of his Highneſs's "Servants; and if He had that Credit to remove any "of them from his Perſon, there would in a ſhort "Time be few of them found in his Court."

THIS was ſeconded by all the Standers by; and though it did not ſuddenly work its Effect, yet the continual preſſing it by Degrees weakened the Reſolution: And the ſame Offices being with equal Importunity performed towards the King, and with the more Zeal after it was publiſhed that the whole was done by the Chancellor's Procurement; both his Majeſty and his Highneſs grew weary of their Severity, and, upon Conference together, reſolved to interpoſe

with the Duke for his Remiſſion, who diſdained to make himſelf a Proſecutor in ſuch a Tranſgreſſion. And ſo the Priſoner returned to *Whitehall*, with the Advantage which Men who have been unjuſtly impriſoned uſually received: And all Men thought He triumphed over the Chancellor, who, how unconcerned ſoever, knew every Day the leſs how to behave himſelf. And this unhappy Conſtitution grew ſo notorious (for there were too many Inſtances of it), that all Men grew leſs reſolute in Matters which concerned the King and drew the Diſpleaſure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

But ſoon releaſed by the Artifice of the Chancellor's Enemies.

The Parliament meets.

ACCORDING to their laſt Prorogation the Parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of *September*; when the King told them, "that He was "very glad to meet ſo many of them together again, "and thanked God for their Meeting together again "in that Place." He ſaid, "little Time had paſſed (366) "ſince They were almoſt in Deſpair of having that "Place left to meet in. They ſaw the diſmal Ruins "the Fire had made; and Nothing but a Miracle of "God's Mercy could have preſerved what was left "from the ſame Deſtruction."

The King's Speech.

HIS Majeſty told them, "He need make no Excuſe "to them for having diſpenſed with their Attendance "in *April*; He was confident They all thanked him for "it: The Truth is, He deſired to put them to as little "Trouble as He could; and He could tell them truly, "He deſired to put them to as little Coſt as was poſſi-"ble. He wiſhed with all his Heart that He could "bear the whole Charge of the War himſelf, and that "his Subjects ſhould reap the whole Benefit of it to "themſelves. But He had two great and powerful "Enemies, who uſed all the Ways They could, fair "and foul, to make all the World to concur with "them; and the War was more chargeable by that "Conjunction, than any Body thought it would have "been. He needed not tell them the Succeſs of "the Summer, in which God had given them great "Succeſs;

"Succeſs; and no Queſtion the Enemy had under-
"gone great Loſſes; and if it had pleaſed God to have
"withheld his late Judgment by Fire, He had been
"in no ill Condition." His Majeſty confeſſed, "that
"They had given him very large Supplies for the car-
"rying on the War: And yet," He told them,
"that if He had not, by anticipating his own Reve-
"nue, raiſed a very great Sum of Money, He had
"not been able to have ſet out the Fleet the laſt
"Spring; and He had ſome Hope upon the ſame
"Credit to be able to pay off the great Ships as they
"ſhould come in. They would conſider what was to
"be done next, when They were well informed of the
"Expenſe: And He would leave it to their Wiſdoms,
"to find out the beſt Expedients for the carrying on
"the War with as little Burden to the People as was
"poſſible." He ſaid, "He would add no more than
"to put them in Mind, that their Enemies were very
"inſolent; and if They were able the laſt Year to per-
"ſuade their miſerable People whom They miſled, *that*
"*the Contagion had ſo waſted the Nation, and impove-*
"*riſhed the King, that He would not be able to ſet out*
"*any Fleet*; how would They be exalted with this laſt
"Impoveriſhment of the City, and contemn all rea-
"ſonable Conditions of Peace? And therefore He
"could not doubt but that They would provide ac-
"cordingly."

INDEED the King did not till now underſtand the Damage He had ſuſtained by the Plague, much leſs what He muſt ſuſtain from the Fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the Plague had prevailed, which was over all the City and over a great Part of the Country; the Collectors durſt not go to require it or receive it. Yet the Fountains remained yet clear, and the Waters would run again: But this late Conflagration had dried up or ſo ſtopped the very Fountains, that there was no Proſpect when they would flow again. The two great Branches of the Revenue, the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, which was the great

great and almoſt inexhauſtible Security to borrow Money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in Money nor ſupply Credit: All the Meaſures by which Computations had been made were ſo broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a Medium of the conſtant Receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that Fund would by this Time have been fully ſatisfied with all the Intereſt, whereby the Money would have been replaced in the Hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the Security would have remained ſtill in Vigour to be applied to any other urgent Occaſions: But now the Plague had routed all thoſe Receipts, eſpecially in *London*, where the great Conduits of thoſe Receipts ſtill ran. (367) The Plague and the War had ſo totally broken and diſtracted thoſe Receipts, that the Farmers of either had not received enough to diſcharge the conſtant Burden of the Officers, and were ſo far from paying any Part of the Principal that was ſecured upon it, that it left the Intereſt unpaid to ſwell the Principal. And now this Deluge by Fire had diſſipated the Perſons, and deſtroyed the Houſes, which were liable to the Reimburſement of all Arrears; and the very Stocks were conſumed which ſhould carry on and revive the Trade. And the third next conſiderable Branch of the Revenue, the Chimney-Money, was determined; and the City muſt be rebuilt before any Body could be required to pay for his Chimnies.

This was the true State of the Crown, if all other Inconveniences and caſual Expenſes had been away, and all Application to Things ſerious had been made by all Perſons concerned. And this woful Proſpect was in View when the Parliament met again; which came not together with the better Countenance by ſeeing all Hopes abroad with ſo ſad an Aſpect, and all Things at Home (that troubled them much more) appear ſo deſperate in many Reſpects. Yet within few Days after the King had ſpoken to them, the Houſe of Commons

mons being moſt filled with the King's Servants, the Gentlemen of the Country being not yet come, there was a faint Vote procured, "that They would give a "Supply to the King proportionable to his Wants," without mentioning any Sum, or which Way it ſhould be raiſed: Nor from that Minute did They make the leaſt Reflection upon that Engagement in many Months after. Whilſt the Enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as They had good Cauſe, that They ſhould reap a much greater Benefit by the Burning of *London* than They had from the Contagion.

Diſcontents in the Houſe of Commons.

WHEN the Numbers of the Members increaſed, the Parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though They made the ſame Profeſſions of Affection and Duty to the King They had ever done, They did not conceal the very ill Opinion They had of the Court and the continual Riotings there: And the very idle Diſcourſes of ſome (who were much countenanced) upon the miſerable Event of the Fire made them even believe, that the former Jealouſies of the City, when They ſaw their Houſes burning at ſuch a Diſtance from each other, were not without ſome Foundation, nor without juſt Apprehenſion of a Conſpiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore They appointed a Committee, with large Authority to ſend for and examine all Perſons who could give any Information concerning it.

A Committee appointed to inquire into the Cauſes of the Fire.

WHEN any Mention was made of the Declaration They had ſo lately paſſed, for giving the King Supply, and "that it was high Time to diſpatch it, that "all neceſſary Proviſions might be made for the ſet-"ting out a Fleet againſt the Spring;" it was anſwered with Paſſion, "that the King's Wants muſt be "made firſt to appear before any Supply muſt be diſ-"courſed of: That there were already ſuch vaſt Sums "of Money given to the King, that there was none "left in the Country; nor could any Commodities "there, upon which They ſhould raiſe wherewith to "pay

" pay their Taxes, be ſold for Want of Money, which " was all brought to *London in Specie*, and none left to " carry on the Commerce and Trade in the Country, " where They could not ſell their Corn or their Cattle " or their Wool for Half the Value."

THEY who had not ſate in the Parliament at *Oxford* were exceedingly vexed, that there had been ſo much given there, ſo ſoon after the two Millions and a Half had been granted; and ſaid, " if the King wanted " again already, that He muſt have been abominably " cheated, which was fit to be examined. That the " Number of the Ships, which had been ſet out by " the King in ſeveral Fleets ſince the Beginning of this " War, was no Secret; and that there are Men enough " who are acquainted with the Charge of ſetting out " and manning and victualling Ships, and can make " thereby a reaſonable Computation what this vaſt " Expenſe can amount to: And that They cannot " but conclude, that if his Majeſty hath been honeſtly " dealt with, there muſt remain ſtill a very great Pro- " portion of Money to carry on the War, without " Need of impoſing more upon the People, till They " are better able to bear it. And therefore that it was " abſolutely neceſſary, that all thoſe, through whoſe " Hands the Money had paſſed, ſhould firſt give an " exact Account of what They had received, and " what and how They had diſburſed it: And when " that ſhould appear, it would be ſeaſonable to de- " mand an Addition of Supply, which would be cheer- " fully granted."

AND for the better Expedition of this (for every Body confeſſed that the Time preſſed) it was propoſed, " that forthwith a Bill ſhould be prepared, which " ſhould paſs into an Act of Parliament, in which ſuch " Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed as the Houſes " ſhould think fit, to examine all Accounts of thoſe " who had received or iſſued out any Monies for this " War; and where They found any Perſons faulty, " and who had broken their Truſt, They ſhould be

" liable

"liable to ſuch a Puniſhment as the Parliament ſhould "think fit:" And a Committee was preſently named to prepare ſuch a Bill accordingly. This Propoſition found ſuch a Concurrence in the Houſe, that none of the Court thought fit to oppoſe it; and others who knew the Method to be new, and liable to juſt Exceptions, thought it to as little Purpoſe to endeavour to divert it: And ſo all Motions for preſent Supply were to be laid aſide till a more favourable Conjuncture; and the Overture had been contrived and put on by many who ſeemed not to like it, which is an Artifice not unuſual in Courts or Parliaments.

A Bill brought in for inſpecting publick Accounts.

THE Perſons, who were principally aimed at (for no Doubt They believed that others would be comprehended), were Sir *George Carteret* the Treaſurer of the Navy, through whom all that Expenſe had paſſed, who had many Enemies upon the Opinion that this Office was too great, and the more by the ill Offices Sir *William Coventry* was always ready to do him; and the Lord *Aſhley*, who was Treaſurer of all the Money that had been raiſed upon Prizes, which could not but be a great Proportion. The former was a punctual Officer and a good Accomptant, and had already paſſed his Account in the Exchequer for two Years, upon which He had his *Quietus eſt*; which was the only lawful Way known and practiſed by all Accomptants to the Crown, who can receive a good Diſcharge no other Way: And He was ready to make another Year's Account. But what Method Commiſſioners extraordinary by Act of Parliament would put it into, He could not imagine, nor be well ſatisfied with. The other, the Lord *Aſhley*, had more Reaſon to be troubled, for He was by his Commiſſion exempted from giving any other Account but to the King himſelf, which Exemption was the only Reaſon that made him ſo ſolicitous for the Office; and He well knew that there were great Sums iſſued, which could not be put into any publick Account: So that his Perplexity in ſeveral Reſpects was not ſmall. And They Both applied

applied themſelves to the King for his Protection in that Point.

Upon which the King conſults the private Committee.

His Majeſty was no leſs troubled, knowing that Both had iſſued out many Sums upon his Warrants, which He would not ſuffer to be produced; and called that Committee of the Privy Council with which He uſed to adviſe, and complained of this unuſual Way of Proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, which would terrify all Men from ſerving his Majeſty in any Receipts; to which Employment Men ſubmitted becauſe They knew what They were to do, and what They were to ſuffer. If They made their Account according to the known Rules of the Exchequer, their Diſcharge could not be denied; and if They failed, They knew what Proceſs would be awarded againſt them. But to account by ſuch Orders as the Parliament ſhould preſcribe, and to be liable to ſuch Puniſhment as the Parliament would inflict, was ſuch an Uncertainty as would deprive them of all Reſt and Quiet of Mind; and was in itſelf ſo unjuſt, that his Majeſty declared "that "He would never ſuffer it: That He hoped it would "never find a Conſent in the Houſe of Commons; if it "ſhould, that the Houſe of Peers would reject it; but if "it ſhould be brought to him, He was reſolved never to "give his Royal Aſſent." There was no Man preſent, who did not ſeem fully to concur with his Majeſty that He ſhould never conſent to it: "However that the beſt "Care and Diligence ſhould be uſed, that it might ne"ver be preſented to him, but ſtopped in the Houſes; "and to that Purpoſe that the Members ſhould be "prepared by giving them Notice of his Pleaſure."

The Chancellor delivers his Opinion very freely.

The Chancellor upon this Argument, in which He diſcerned no Oppoſition, enlarged himſelf upon what He had often before put his Majeſty in Mind of; "that He could not be too indulgent in the Defence "of the Privileges of Parliament; that He hoped He "would never violate any of them:" But He deſired him "to be equally ſolicitous to prevent the Exceſſes "in Parliament, and not to ſuffer them to extend their

"Juriſ-

"Juriſdiction to Caſes They have Nothing to do "with; and that to reſtrain them within their proper "Bounds and Limits is as neceſſary, as it is to pre- "ſerve them from being invaded. That this was ſuch a "new Encroachment as had no Bottom; and the Scars "were yet too freſh and green of thoſe Wounds which "had been inflicted upon the Kingdom from ſuch "Uſurpation." And therefore He deſired his Majeſty "to be firm in the Reſolution He had taken, and not to "depart from it; and if ſuch a Bill ſhould be brought "up to the Houſe of Peers, He would not fail in doing "his Duty, and ſpeaking freely his Opinion againſt "ſuch Innovations, how many ſoever it might offend." All which Diſcourſe of his was in a ſhort Time after communicated to thoſe, who would not fail to make Uſe of it to his Diſadvantage.

Which is ſoon reported abroad to his Prejudice.

THERE was a Correſpondence by this Time begun and warmly purſued between ſome diſcontented Members of the Houſe of Peers, who thought their Parts not enough valued (and the Duke of *Buckingham* was in the Head of them), and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, who made themſelves remarkable by oppoſing all Things which were propoſed in that Houſe for the King's Service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Seymour*, and Mr. *Garraway*, and Sir *Robert Howard*; who were all bold Speakers, and meant to make themſelves conſiderable by ſaying, upon all Occaſions, what wiſer Men would not, whatever They thought.

THE Duke of *Buckingham* took more Pains than was agreeable to his Conſtitution to get an Intereſt in all ſuch Perſons, invited them to his Table, pretended to have a great Eſteem of their Parts, aſked Counſel of them, lamented the King's neglecting his Buſineſs, and committing it to other People who were not fit for it; and then reported all the Licenſe and Debauchery of the Court in the moſt lively Colours, being himſelf a frequent Eye and Earwitneſs of it. He had a mortal Quarrel with the Lady, and was at this Time ſo much in

The Duke of Buckingham *at the Head of the Oppoſition.*

in the King's Diſpleaſure (as He was very frequently), that He forbore going to the Court, and revenged himſelf upon it by all the merry Tales He could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, conſidering the looſe Life He led (which was a Life more by Night than by Day) in all the Liberties that Nature could deſire or Wit invent, how great an Intereſt He had in Both Houſes of Parliament; that is, how many in Both would follow his Advice, and concur in what He propoſed. His Quality and Condeſcenſions, the Pleaſantneſs of his Humour and Converſation, the Extravagance and Sharpneſs of his Wit, unreſtrained by any Modeſty or Religion, drew Perſons of all Affections and Inclinanations to like his Company; and to believe the Levities and the Vanities would be wrought off by Age, and there would enough of Good be left to become a great Man, and make him uſeful to his Country, for which He pretended to have a wonderful Affection and Reverence; and that all his Diſpleaſure againſt the Court proceeded from their declared Malignity againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and their Deſire that the King ſhould govern by the Example of *France*. He had always held Intelligence with the principal Perſons of the *Levelling* Party, and profeſſed to deſire that Liberty of Conſcience might be granted to all; and exerciſed his Wit with moſt Licenſe againſt the Church, the Law and the Court.

The King had conſtant Intelligence of all his Behaviour, and the Liberty He took in his Diſcourſes of him, for which He had Indignation enough: But of this new Stratagem to make himſelf great in Parliament, and to have a Faction there to diſturb his Buſineſs, his Majeſty had no Apprehenſion, believing it impoſſible for the Duke to keep his Mind long bent upon any particular Deſign, or to keep and obſerve thoſe Hours and Orders of ſleeping and eating, as Men who pretend to Buſineſs are obliged to; and that it was more impoſſible, for him to make and preſerve a Friend-

a Friendſhip with any ſerious Perſons, whom He could never reſtrain himſelf from abuſing and making ridiculous, as ſoon as He was out of their Company. Yet with all theſe Infirmities and Vices He found a Reſpect and Concurrence from Men of different Tempers and Talents, and had an incredible Opinion with the People.

His Hatred to the Duke of Ormond.

THE great Object of his Diſlike, Diſpleaſure and Hatred was the Duke of *Ormond*, who being his Equal in Title, and Superiour in Credit with the King, and at leaſt equal to him in all other Reſpects, He looked upon him as his Rival; and that his conſtant Attendance upon the King through all his Fortunes, was a Reproach to him for not having performed his Duty that Way, and gave him a general Reputation in the Kingdom with all Men who had been faithful to the Crown. The Duke of *Ormond's* younger Son had married his Niece, who was the Heir apparent of his Houſe; to which though He had given his Conſent when He ſaw it was not in his Power to contradict it, yet He pretended that the Duke had made many Promiſes of Friendſhip to him which He had not made good; whereas in Truth the other did really deſire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good Offices He could with the King, which ſome other new Extravagance of his own diſappointed and made uneffectual. Let the Ground and Reaſon be what they will, He did not diſſemble to hate the Duke of *Ormond* heartily, and to be willing to undertake the Proſecution of any Complaint againſt him; of which, in that diſtempered and disjointed Condition of *Ireland*, there could not be Occaſion wanting, as ſoon as it was known that ſuch a Patron was ready to undertake their Defence. And it cannot be denied (the Spirit of Envy is ſo powerful), that there were too many, who had no Affection for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were yet willing that any Thing ſhould be done to the Prejudice of the Duke of *Ormond*, who They thought eclipſed the Nobility of *England*.

THERE

THERE had been for many Months a great Murmur, rather than Complaint, "of the great Damage the King-"dom in general ſuſtained by the Importation of ſuch "great Quantities of Iriſh Cattle, which were bred there "for Nothing, and tranſported for little, that They "might well underſell all the Cattle here; and from "hence the Breed of Cattle in the Kingdom was to-"tally given over, and thereby the Land would yield "no Rent proportionably to what it had ever done: "And that this was a principal Cauſe of the Want of "Money in the Country, which could only be reme-"died by a very ſtrict Act of Parliament, to forbid "the Importation of any Sort of Cattle out of *Ireland* "into this Kingdom." And ſome of them who had moſt thought of the Matter had prepared a Bill, and brought it into the Houſe of Commons, where it was read. At firſt it underwent very calm and reaſonable Debates. Very Many Members of ſeveral Counties deſired, "that their Counties might not undergo any "Damage for the Benefit of other individual Places." They profeſſed "that their Counties had no Land bad "enough to breed: But that their great Traffick con-"ſiſted in buying lean Cattle, and making them fat, "and upon this They paid their Rent; and if the "bringing over *Iriſh* Cattle ſhould be reſtrained, their "Counties muſt be undone." And this appeared to be the Caſe of very many Counties in *England*. And the Complaint was of ſo new a Nature, that it had never been heard of in *England* till ſome few Months before this Meeting in Parliament; only it had been mentioned in the Parliament at *Oxford*, as a Grievance to the Northern Countries, which complained no leſs of the *Scots* than of the *Iriſh* Cattle; and the Bill that was at this Time brought into the Houſe of Commons provided as well againſt the one as the other.

A Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt the Importation of Iriſh Cattle.

WHETHER this Complaint originally proceeded from the Damage which the People of ſome Counties ſuſtained, or thought They ſuſtained, which made their Members in Parliament preſs the Reſtraint with much

much Earneſtneſs (and it cannot be denied that many worthy Men were paſſionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious Conteſts, to comply with the Humours of other Men), is not eaſy to other Men to judge of than thoſe who ſate in the Houſes, and obſerved the Manner and the Paſſion in which thoſe Debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently ſoever the Grievance firſt came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the Conſideration and Wiſdom of the Houſe, the carrying it on was with unuſual Heat and Paſſion, different from what appeared in the Tranſaction of any other Buſineſs, that had an Aſpect only to the Publick: And it was obſerved, that the Cabal that is mentioned before, between ſome of the Houſe of Peers and of the Houſe of Commons, began at this Time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this Affair; which ſuddenly grew to be inſiſted on as of that Importance, that there could be no Debate begun with Reference to the giving Money to the King, till this Bill were firſt paſſed.

The Privy Council of Ireland *remonſtrate againſt this Bill.*

IN the mean Time the Council of *Ireland* had the Alarm of what was intended before the Parliament, and did not only write to the King himſelf, but a large Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, in which They repreſented the preſent diſtracted Condition of that Kingdom, "that there were more than one hun-"dred thouſand Perſons who had Nothing elſe to live "upon but their Droves of Cattle; out of which They "twice a Year ſent as many as They could ſpare into "*England*, which enabled them to pay their Rents, [372] "and return ſuch Goods and Merchandiſe from thence "as the Kingdom ſtood in Need of;" for no Money *in Specie* was returned upon that Commerce. "That "if this Liberty of Trade, which They had enjoyed "in all Ages, ſhould be taken from them, the King's "Army could not be ſupported, nor the Government "maintained, but the Kingdom muſt neceſſarily be "ruined; and probably a new Rebellion, in ſo ge-

"neral a Diſcontent as this Reſtraint would adminiſ-
"ter, might be again entered into: And therefore
"They deſired, that at leaſt ſome Years might be al-
"lowed to that Traffick which had been always en-
"joyed; to the End that ſome other Huſbandry might
"be introduced into the Kingdom, by which the Peo-
"ple might live, and which the Government would
"endeavour to plant with all poſſible Diligence and
"Encouragement."

The King againſt the Bill.

THE King himſelf was ſo much moved with thoſe Letters, that He declared, "that He could neither in "Juſtice nor in Conſcience conſent to ſuch a Bill, "which upon Pretence of Benefit to one of his King-"doms might and muſt be ſo miſchievous to the other "two" (for *Scotland*, as is ſaid, was yet comprehended as well as *Ireland*): "That He was equally King of "all, and obliged to have an equal Care of all; and "never to conſent to any Thing that might be preju-"dicial to either of the other, eſpecially if the Benefit "to the one were not proportionable to, and as evi-"dent as, the Damage was to the other." And upon theſe Grounds He recommended to them, "to give "ſuch a Stop to this Bill, that it might never be pre-"ſented to him, for if it were He muſt poſitively re-"ject it:" And without Doubt his Majeſty at that Time did not reſolve any Thing more within himſelf, than never to give his Royal Aſſent to that Bill.

The Privy Council divided in their Opinions upon it.

THE Letters from *Ireland* did not make the ſame Impreſſions upon the Lords of the Council, who were very much divided in their Opinions, even They whoſe Zeal for the King's Service was moſt unqueſtionable. Some were, upon the ſole Conſideration of the Injuſtice of it, and the Miſchief that it would produce in *Ireland*, poſitively againſt ever conſenting to it, and as poſitive that it might be ſtopped in the Houſe of Commons, or thrown out of the Lords Houſe, that it ſhould never come to the King: Others did as much believe that it was a real Grievance, in which the Subject ſhould have Relief; and inſiſted much, "that in "a Point

"a Point evidently for the Benefit and Advantage of "*England*, *Ireland* ought not to be put into the Scale, "becauſe it would be ſome Inconvenience there." Some did in Truth think that the King was too much inclined to favour the *Iriſh*, and in that Reſpect were well content that this Bill ſhould be a Mortification to them: And there wanted not others, who in dark Expreſſions (which grew clearer when the Matter came into the Houſe of Peers) ſeemed to think, "that the "Eſtates in *Ireland* were more valuable than they were "in *England*; and that ſome Noblemen of that King-"dom lived in a higher Garb, and made greater Ex-"penſes, than the Noblemen in *England* were able to "do; which had not been in former Times." But They never conſidered, that thoſe Noblemen had Nothing but what deſcended to them from their Anceſtors; and that They had faithfully adhered to the King, and undergone as much Damage for doing ſo, as any Men had done.

THE Houſe of Commons ſeemed much more moroſe and obſtinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and ſolicitous to graſp as much Power and Authority as any of their Predeceſſors had done, though no Doubt with no ill Intention: And it may be this would not have ſo much appeared, if there had been the ſame Vigour in thoſe who had uſed to conduct the King's Buſineſs in that Houſe, as there had uſed to be. But that Spirit was much fallen. The chief Men of the Court, upon whoſe Example other Men looked, were much more humble than They had uſed to be, and took more Pains to ingratiate themſelves than to advance the Intereſt of their Maſter: And inſtead of preſſing what was deſirable upon the Strength of Reaſon and Policy, as They had uſed to do, and by which the major Part of the Houſe had uſually concurred with them, They now applied themſelves with Addreſs to thoſe, who had always frowardly oppoſed whatſoever They thought would be grateful to the King; and deſired rather to buy their Votes and Concurrence by

Promiſes of Reward and Preferment (which is the moſt diſhonourable and unthrifty Brokery that can be practiſed in a Parliament, which from this Time was much practiſed, and brought many ill Things to paſs), than to prevail upon thoſe weighty and important Arguments which would bear the Light. Which low Artifice raiſed the Inſolence of thoſe, which would, as eaſily as it had been, have been ſtill overruled and ſuppreſſed; and was quickly diſcerned by thoſe others, who upon the Principles of Honour and Wiſdom had hitherto ſwayed the Houſe in all Matters of publick Concernment, and who now concluded by thoſe new Condeſcenſions, that the former ſober Spirit and Reſolution was laid aſide, and that peeviſh Men would be compounded with; and ſo reſolved to ſit ſtill or look on, till the Succeſs of this Stratagem might be diſcerned.

And by this Means the Bill for *Iriſh* Cattle was driven on with more Fury, and the other concerning Accounts more paſſionately ſpoken of; whilſt every Day not only many of thoſe, who had conſtantly obſerved the Advice that had been given them on the Behalf of the King, fell off to the other Party, but many of his houſhold Servants concurred in the Bill for *Ireland*; whilſt the reſt, who did not yet think fit to do ſo, applied themſelves to the King for his Leave that They might do the ſame. And Sir *William Coventry*, who had now by his Inſinuations and Communication made himſelf very grateful to the refractory Party, perſuaded the King, "that the Houſe had ta-
"ken the *Iriſh* Bill ſo much to Heart, that They would
"never enter upon the Debate of Money, till that had
"paſſed the Houſe and was ſent to the Lords, who no
"Doubt, upon the Knowledge of his Majeſty's Mind
"and Reſolution, would eaſily throw it out. That if
"his Servants continued obſtinate in oppoſing it be-
"low, They ſhould but provoke and anger the Houſe,
"and render themſelves uſeleſs to other Parts of his
"Majeſty's more important Buſineſs: Whereas if They
"did

"did now gratify the Houſe by concurring with them "in this Matter, They ſhould make themſelves ac- "ceptable, have Credit enough to divert the Bill of "Accounts, and preſently to diſpoſe every Body to "enter upon the Matter of Supply."

THE King was not pleaſed with the Counſel, but had a very good Opinion of the Counſellor, who He believed could not but judge aright of the Temper of thoſe with whom He had ſate and converſed ſo long: And ſo his Majeſty told him, "He was contented He "ſhould follow the Dictates of his own Judgment and "Conſcience;" and the ſame Anſwer He gave to all ſuch Members of the Houſe of Commons who came to receive his Orders. And after all this, the Bill was carried with great Difficulty, and long Oppoſition given to it by thoſe Members of ſeveral Counties, which profeſſed, "that the bringing over the *Iriſh* "Cattle was ſo much for their Benefit, that They "could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it ſhould paſs; which yet They hoped would be prevented in the Houſe of Peers: And ſo the Bill was in great Triumph, and by all the Members (as in Caſes They much delight in is uſual), preſented to the Houſe of Peers.

The Bill, after great Oppoſition, paſſed by the Commons.

AND the Commons no ſooner repaired to their own Houſe, than They aſſumed the Debate upon the Accounts, with the ſame Fervour They had purſued the other Bill of *Ireland*, and with the ſame Declaration, "that They would not enter upon the Subject of Mo- "ney, till They ſaw what Succeſs that Bill would like- "wiſe have;" and appearing every Day more out of Humour, expreſſed leſs Reverence towards the Court. And ſome Expreſſions were frequently uſed, which ſeemed to glance at the Licenſe and Diſorders and extravagant Expenſe of that Place, not without ſome Reflections which aimed at the Lady, and at the exorbitant Power exerciſed by her. And this imperious Way of Proceeding confirmed thoſe in their Warineſs, who had no Mind to oppoſe or contradict the Party

that They would and meant ſhould prevail: But They the more endeavoured to render themſelves gracious to the Leaders, as being willing to adminiſter Fewel to the Fire the others intended to kindle; and, ſo They might preſerve themſelves, were very willing to expoſe other Miniſters to the Jealouſy of them, who They thought would not be quiet without ſome Sacrifice. And thus They alarmed the King with the new Apprehenſions, "that the Houſe, "which had yet dutiful Intentions, if They were "croſſed in what They deſigned for his Service, "might be provoked to be bolder with his Majeſty "than They had been yet, and to mention the Pre-"valence of the Lady," which every Body knew the Duke of *Buckingham* would have been glad to have contributed to. And with theſe continued Repreſentations, but eſpecially with their old Argument of caſting it out by the Houſe of Peers, where his Power could not be doubted, They at laſt prevailed with the King to leave all Men to themſelves in the Buſineſs of the Accounts (where there was a greater Concurrence), as He had done in the *Iriſh* Bill: And ſo that Bill likewiſe was tranſmitted to the Lords. (375)

The Bill for inſpecting publick Accounts paſſed by the Commons.

The Propriety of diſſolving the Parliament at this Time.

AND at this Time many wiſe Men thought, that it would have been very happy for the King if He would have diſſolved the Parliament, and preſently after called another; which would have diſcovered many Combinations, when the Actors had found themſelves excluded from entering again upon the Stage; and it would have appeared, that all the Storms had been raiſed by thoſe Winds which had their Birth in the King's own Houſe. And ſuch a Diſſolution (to which the King himſelf was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the Kingdom, which naturally doth not love long Parliaments, and exceedingly deteſted this for having only given away their Money, and raiſed a War of which They ſaw no End nor poſſible Benefit, without paſſing any good Laws for the Advancement of the

the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom. And very few of thoſe, who had gotten Credit in the Houſe to obſtruct what the King deſired, were Men of any Intereſt or Reputation with the People.

BUT as Nobody was forward publickly to own and avow this Counſel, the Conſequence whereof They knew if it were not conſented to; ſo They who meant to do themſelves more Good by the preſent Indiſpoſition and Diſtemper, than They could propoſe from a new Convention of Men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring Prejudice againſt their own Particulars, uſed all the Means They could deviſe to divert the King from that Inclination. They told him, "that He would never have ſuch another "Parliament, where He had near one hundred "Members of his own menial Servants and their "near Relations, who were all at his Diſpoſal; by "which They had incurred ſo much Prejudice in the "Country, that very few of them would ever be (375) "elected again. That the preſent Diſtemper was "contracted by Accidents and Miſtakes, and would "vaniſh upon very reaſonable Condeſcenſions, and in "another Prorogation: Whereas if it ſhould be diſ-"ſolved and new Writs ſent out, the People would "return none but *Preſbyterians* and known Enemies "to the Church, and ſuch who were moſt notoriouſly "diſaffected to the Court." And this Argument, preſſed by Men who had no more Affection for the Church than the *Quakers* had, prevailed with moſt of the Biſhops to diſſuade the King from hearkening to any ſuch Advice; when They had much more Reaſon to expect a ſtronger Party in a new Parliament, and might have obſerved that their Friends fell from them every Day in Both Houſes, and that the Court was not propitious to them, of which They had afterwards a ſad Experience, and which They might then have well foreſeen.

Great Animoſities in the Houſe of Lords upon the Bill againſt Iriſh *Cattle.*

THE Houſe of Peers was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the Bill againſt *Iriſh* Cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous

vellous keen Reſolution appeared in many to uſe all Expedition in the paſſing it; though if the Matter itſelf had been without Exception, there were ſo many Clauſes and *Proviſos* in it ſo derogatory to the King's Honour and Prerogative, that many thought it a high Diſreſpect to his Majeſty to admit them into Debate. But of theſe anon. The Duke of *Buckingham* appeared in the Head of thoſe who favoured the Bill, with a marvellous Concernment: And at the Times appointed for the Debate of it, contrary to his Cuſtom of coming into the Houſe, indeed of not riſing till eleven of the Clock, and ſeldom ſtaying above a Quarter of an Hour, except upon ſome Affair which He concerned himſelf in, He was now always preſent with the firſt in a Morning, and ſtayed till the laſt at Night; for the Debate often held from the Morning till four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and ſometimes till Candles were brought in.

And it grew quickly evident, that there were other Reaſons which cauſed ſo earneſt a Proſecution of it, above the Encouragement of the Breed of Cattle in *England:* Inſomuch as the Lord *Aſhley*, who next the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the moſt violent Supporter of the Bill, could not forbear to urge it as an Argument for the proſecuting it, "that if this Bill "did not paſs, all the Rents in *Ireland* would riſe in "a vaſt Proportion, and thoſe in *England* fall as "much; ſo that in a Year or two the Duke of *Or-*"*mond* would have a greater Revenue than the Earl "of *Northumberland*;" which made a viſible Impreſſion in many, as a Thing not to be endured. Whereas the Duke had indeed at leaſt four Times the Proportion of Land in *Ireland* that deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, that the Earl had in *England*; and the Revenue of it before the Rebellion was not inferiour to the other's. But Nothing was more manifeſt, than that the Warmth of that Proſecution in the Houſe of Peers in many Lords did proceed from the Envy They had of the Duke's Station in one Kingdom, and of his Fortune in the other. And

AND the whole Debate upon the Bill was ſo diſorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: No Rules or Orders of the Houſe for the Courſe and Method of Debate were obſerved. And there being, amongſt thoſe who advanced the Bill, fewer Speakers than there were of thoſe who were againſt it, thoſe few took upon them to ſpeak oftner than They ought to do, and to reply to every Man who declared himſelf to be of another Opinion: And when They were put in Mind of the Rule of the Houſe, "that no Man ſhould ſpeak above once upon "the ſame Queſtion," They called preſently to have the Houſe reſolved into a Committee, which any ſin-
(75) gle Member may require, and then every Man may ſpeak as often as He pleaſe; and ſo the Time was ſpent unprofitably without the Buſineſs being advanced. In the mean Time the Houſe of Commons proceeded as irregularly, in ſending frequent Meſſages to haſten the Diſpatch of the Bill, when They knew well the Debate of every Day: And it was frequently urged as an Argument, "that the Houſe of Commons was "the fitteſt Judge of the Neceſſities and Grievances of "the People; and They having paſſed this Bill, the "Lords ought to conform to their Opinion." In Fine, there grew ſo great a Licenſe of Words in this Debate, and ſo many perſonal Reflections, that every Day ſome Quarrels aroſe, to the great Scandal and Diſhonour of a Court that was the ſupreme Judicatory of the Kingdom.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, who aſſumed a Liberty of ſpeaking when and what He would in a Dialect unuſual and ungrave, his Similies and other Expreſſions giving Occaſion of much Mirth and Laughter, one Day ſaid in the Debate, "that whoever was againſt "that Bill had either an *Iriſh* Intereſt or an *Iriſh* Un-"derſtanding:" Which ſo much offended the Lord *Oſſory*, who was eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond* (who had very narrowly eſcaped the Cenſure of the Houſe lately, for reproaching the Lord *Aſhley* with having

having been a Counſellor to *Cromwell*, and would not therefore truſt himſelf with giving a preſent Anſwer), that meeting him afterwards in the Court, He deſired the Duke "that He would walk into the next Room with him;" and there told him, "that He had taken "the Liberty to uſe many looſe and unworthy Expreſ- "ſions which reflected upon the whole *Iriſh* Nation, "and which He himſelf reſented ſo much that He ex- "pected Satisfaction, and to find him with his Sword "in his Hand;" which the Duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair Words and Shifts He could uſe, but was ſo far preſſed by the other, whoſe Courage was never doubted, that He could not avoid appoint- ing a Place where They would preſently meet, which He found the other would exact to prevent Diſcovery, and therefore had choſen rather to urge it himſelf than to ſend a Meſſage to him. And ſo He named a known Place in *Chelſea Fields*, and to be there within leſs than an Hour.

The Lord Oſſory challenges the Duke of Buckingham.

THE Lord *Oſſory* made Haſte thither, and expected him much beyond the Time; and then ſeeing ſome Perſons come out of the Way towards the Place where He was, and concluding They were ſent out to pre- vent any Action between them, He avoided ſpeaking with them, but got to the Place where his Horſe was, and ſo retired to *London*. The Duke was found by himſelf in another Place on the other Side of the Wa- ter, which was never known by the Name of *Chelſea Fields*, which He ſaid was the Place He had appointed to meet.

FINDING that Night that the Lord *Oſſory* was not in Cuſtody, and ſo He was ſure He ſhould quickly hear from him, and upon Conference with his Friends, that the Miſtake of the Place would be imputed to him; He took a ſtrange Reſolution, that every Body wondered at, and his Friends diſſuaded him from. And the next Morning, as ſoon as the Houſe was ſate, the Lord *Oſſory* being likewiſe preſent that He might find ſome Opportunity to ſpeak with him, the Duke, told

told the Houſe, "that He muſt inform them of "Somewhat that concerned himſelf; and being ſure "that it would come to their Notice ſome other Way, "He had therefore choſe to acquaint them with it "himſelf:" And thereupon related "how the Lord "*Oſſory* had the Day before found him in the Court, "and deſired him to walk into the next Room, where "He charged him with many Particulars which He "had ſpoken in that Place, and in few Words told "him He ſhould fight with him; which though He "did not hold himſelf obliged to do in Maintenance "of any Thing He had ſaid or done in the Parlia-"ment, yet that it being ſuitable and agreeable to his "Nature, to fight with any Man who had a Mind to "fight with him" (upon which He enlarged with a "little Vanity, as if Duelling were his daily Exerciſe "and Inclination), He appointed the Place in *Chelſea* "*Fields*, which He underſtood to be the Fields over "againſt *Chelſea*; whither, having only gone to his "Lodging to change his Sword, He haſtened, by "preſently croſſing the Water in a Pair of Oars, and "ſtayed there in Expectation of the Lord *Oſſory*, until "ſuch Gentlemen," whom He named, "found him "there, and ſaid, *They were ſent to prevent his and the* "*Lord* Oſſory's *Meeting, whom others were likewiſe ſent* "*to find for the ſame Prevention.* Whereupon, con-"cluding that for the preſent there would be no "Meeting together, He returned with thoſe Gentle-"men to his Lodging, being always ready to give "any Gentleman Satisfaction that ſhould require it "of him."

The Duke of Buckingham *informs the Houſe of the Affair.*

EVERY Body was exceedingly ſurpriſed with the Oddneſs and Unſeaſonableneſs of the Diſcourſe, which conſiſted, with ſome Confuſion, between aggravating the Preſumption of the Lord *Oſſory*, and making the Offence as heinous as the violating all the Privileges of Parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own Courage and Readineſs to fight upon any Opportunity, when it was clear enough that He had declined

clined it by a groſs Shift: And it was wondered at, that He had not choſen rather that ſome other Perſon might inform the Houſe of a Quarrel between two Members, that it might be examined and the Miſchief prevented. But He believed that Way would not ſo well repreſent and manifeſt the Luſtre of his Courage, and might leave him under an Examination that would not be ſo advantageous to him as his own Information: And therefore no Perſuaſion and Importunity of his Friends could prevail with him to decline that Method.

THE Lord *Oſſory* ſeemed out of Countenance, and troubled that the Conteſt was like to be only in that Place, and cared not to deny any Thing that the Duke had accuſed him of; only "wondered, that He ſhould "ſay He had challenged him for Words ſpoken in the "Houſe, when He had expreſsly declared to him, "when his Grace inſiſted much upon the Privilege of "Parliament to decline giving him any Satisfaction, "*that He did not queſtion him for any Words ſpoken in* "*Parliament, but for Words ſpoken in other Places, and* "*for Affronts, which He had at other Times choſen to* "*bear rather than to diſturb the Company.*" He confeſsed, "He had attended in the very Place where the "Duke had done him the Honour to promiſe to meet "him;" and mentioned ſome Expreſſions which He had uſed in deſigning it, which left the Certainty of it not to be doubted.

WHEN They had Both ſaid as much as They had a Mind to, They were Both required, as is the Cuſtom, to withdraw to ſeveral Rooms near the Houſe: And then the Lords entered upon Debate of the Tranſgreſſion; many inſiſting "upon the Magnitude of the "Offence, which concerned the Honour and Safety of "the higheſt Tribunal in the Kingdom, and the Li-"berty and Security of every Member of the Houſe. "That if in any Debate any Lord exceeded the modeſt "Limits preſcribed, in any offenſive Expreſſions, the "Houſe had the Power and the Practice to reſtrain "and reprehend and impriſon the Perſon, according to "the

"the Quality and Degree of the Offence; and that no "other Remedy or Examination could be applied to "it, even by the King himſelf. But if it ſhould be "in any private Man to take Exceptions againſt any "Words which the Houſe finds no Fault with, and "to require Men to juſtify with their Swords all that "They ſay in Diſcharge of their Conſcience, and for "the Good and Benefit of their Country; there is an "End of the Privilege of Parliament and the Freedom "of Speech: And therefore that there could not be "too great a Puniſhment inflicted upon this notorious "and monſtrous Offence of the Lord *Oſſory*, which "concerned every Lord in particular, as much as it "did the Duke of *Buckingham*; who had carried him-"ſelf as well as the ill Cuſtom and Iniquity of the Age "would admit, and had given no Offence to the "Houſe, towards which He had always paid all poſ-"ſible Reſpect and Reverence."

THEY who conſidered the Honour and Dignity only of the Houſe, and the ill Conſequence of ſuch Violations as theſe, which Way ſoever their Affections were inclined with Reference to their Perſons, were all of Opinion, "that their Offences were ſo near equal that "their Puniſhment ought to be equal: For that be-"ſides the Lord *Oſſory's* Denial that He had made any "Reflection upon any Words ſpoken in Parliament, "which was the Aggravation of his Offence, there "was ſome Teſtimony given to the Houſe by ſome "Lords preſent, that the Lord *Oſſory* had complained "of the Duke's Comportment towards him before "thoſe Words uſed in the Houſe by him, *of the* Iriſh "*Intereſt or* Iriſh *Underſtanding*, and reſolved to expoſ-"tulate with him upon it; ſo that thoſe Words could "not be the Ground of the Quarrel. And it was evi-"dent by the Duke's own Confeſſion and Declaration, "that He was as ready to fight, and went to the Place "appointed by himſelf for Encounter; which made "the Offence equal." And therefore They moved, "that They might be Both brought to the Bar, and

"upon

"upon their Knees receive the Sentence of the Houſe "for their Commitment to the *Tower*."

Some, who would ſhew their Kindneſs to the Duke, were not willing that He ſhould undergo the ſame Puniſhment with the other, until ſome Lords, who were known not to be his Friends, were very earneſt "that "the Duke might receive no Puniſhment, becauſe He "had committed no Fault; for that it was very evi- "dent that He never intended to fight, and had, "when no other Tergiverſation would ſerve his Turn, "prudently miſtaken the Place that was appointed by "himſelf;" which was preſſed by two or three Lords in ſuch a pleaſant Manner, with Reflection upon ſome Expreſſions uſed by himſelf, that his better Friends thought it would be more for his Honour to undergo the Cenſure of the Houſe, than the Penalty of ſuch a Vindication: And ſo They were Both ſent to the *Tower*.

They are Both ſent to the Tower.

And during the Time They remained there, the Bill againſt *Ireland* remained in Suſpenſe, and uncalled for by thoſe, who would not hazard their Cauſe in the Abſence of their ſtrongeſt Champion. But the ſame Spirit was kept up in all other Arguments, the Diſpleaſure, that had ariſen againſt each other in that, venting itſelf in Contradictions and ſharp Replies in all other Occaſions; a Miſchief that is always contracted from the Agitation of private Affairs, where different Intereſts are purſued; from whence perſonal Animoſities ariſe, which are not quickly laid aſide, after the Affair itſelf that produced thoſe Paſſions is compoſed and ended. And this Kind of Diſtemper never more appeared, nor ever laſted longer, than from the Debate and Conteſtation upon this Bill.

Those two Lords were no ſooner at Liberty, and their Diſpleaſure towards each other ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the King's Command, but another more untoward Outrage happened, that continued the ſame Diſturbance. It happened that upon the Debate of the ſame Affair, the *Iriſh* Bill, there was a Conference appointed with the Houſe of Commons, in which the Duke

A Scuffle between the Duke of Buckingham *and the Marquis of* Dorcheſter.

Duke of *Buckingham* was a Manager; and as They were ſitting down in the *Painted Chamber*, which is ſeldom done in good Order, it chanced that the Marquis of *Dorcheſter* ſate next the Duke of *Buckingham*, between whom there was no good Correſpondence. The one changing his Poſture for his own Eaſe, which made the Station of the other the more uneaſy, They firſt endeavoured by juſtling to recover what They had diſpoſſeſſed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct Blows; in which the Marquis, who was the lower of the two in Stature, and was leſs active in his Limbs, loſt his Perriwig, and received ſome Rudeneſs, which Nobody imputed to his Want of Courage, which was ever leſs queſtioned than that of the other.

THE Miſdemeanor, greater than had ever happened, in that Place and upon ſuch an Occaſion, in any Age when the leaſt Reverence to Government was preſerved, could not be concealed; but as ſoon as the Conference was ended, was reported to the Houſe, and Both Parties heard, who Both confeſſed enough to make them undergo the Cenſure of the Houſe. The Duke's Friends would fain have juſtified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always diſpoſed them to affect any Opportunity to manifeſt it. But the Houſe ſent them Both to the *Tower*; from whence after a few Days They were again releaſed together, and ſuch a Reconciliation made as after ſuch Rencounters is uſual, where either Party thinks himſelf beforehand with the other, as the Marquis had much of the Duke's Hair in his Hands to recompenſe for his pulling off his Perriwig, which He could not reach high enough to do to the other.

For which They are committed to the Tower.

WHEN all Things were thus far quieted, the Bill was again entered upon with no leſs Paſſion for the Stock that had been waſted. The Arguments which were urged againſt the Bill for the Injuſtice of it were, "that They ſhould, without any Cauſe or Demerit on "their Part, or any viſible Evidence of a Benefit that "would

Arguments urged againſt the Iriſh *Bill in the Houſe of Peers.*

"would accrue from it to this Kindgom, deprive his "Majeſty's two other Kingdoms of a Privilege they "had ever been poſſeſſed of. That They might as "reaſonably take away the Trade from any one "County in *England*, becauſe it produced ſome Incon- "venience to another County more in their Favour. "That the large Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, and "other Provinces, would loſe as much by the paſſing "of this Act, as the Northern and any other Counties "would gain by it. That thoſe two Kingdoms might "with the ſame Juſtice preſs his Majeſty's Concur- "rence, that They might have no Trade in *England*, "which would bring more Damage to *England* by "much, than it would gain by this Act of Reſtraint: "And that it was againſt all the Maxims of Prudence, "to run the Danger of a preſent Miſchief and Da- "mage, as this would produce in *Ireland* by the Teſ- "timony of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that "Kingdom, only upon the Speculation of a future "Benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only "in Speculation."

THESE, and many other Arguments of this Kind, which for the moſt Part were offered by Men who had not the leaſt Relation to *Ireland*, made no other Impreſſion, than that They were content to leave *Scotland* out of the Bill; which increaſed their Party againſt *Ireland*, and gave little Satisfaction to the other, who did not ſo much value the Commerce with the other Kingdom. And this Alteration the Houſe of Commons likewiſe conſented to, but with great Oppoſition, ſince in Truth that Conceſſion deſtroyed the Foundation upon which the whole Fabrick of the Bill was ſupported.

Againſt Clauſes in it derogatory to the Prerogative.

THEN the Debate fell upon ſome derogatory Clauſes, and *Proviſos* very contrary to his Majeſty's juſt Prerogative and Power (for They made his Majeſty's own Licenſe and Warrant of no Effect or Authority, but liable to be controlled by a Conſtable; nor would permit the Importation of three thouſand Beeves, which by

by an Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, were every Year to be delivered at *Cheſter* and another Port for the Proviſion of the King's Houſe); which in many Reſpects the Houſe generally diſliked, and deſired "that it "might have no other Style than had been accuſtomed "in all the penal Acts of Parliament which were in "Force, it being to be preſumed, that the King would "never diſpenſe with any Violation of it, except in "ſuch Caſes as the Benefit and Good of the Kingdom "required it; which might naturally fall out, if there "ſhould happen ſuch a Murrain amongſt the Beaſts "of that Species, as had been theſe late Years amongſt "Horſes, which had deſtroyed ſo many thouſand, that "good Horſes were now hard to be procured. And "if the ſame or the like Deſtruction ſhould fall upon "the other Cattle, We ſhould have then more Cauſe "to complain of the Scarcity and the Dearneſs of "Meat, than We have now of the Plenty and Cheap-"neſs, which was the only Grievance now felt, and "which Kingdoms ſeldom complained of: And in "ſuch a Caſe it would be very great Pity, that the "King ſhould not have Power enough to provide for "the Supply of his Subjects, and to prevent a com-"mon Dearth."

BUT this was again oppoſed with as much Paſſion and Violence as had fallen out in any Part of the Debate; and ſuch rude Arguments uſed againſt ſuch a Power in the King, as if the Queſtion were upon repoſing ſome new Truſt in him, whereas it was upon diveſting him of a Truſt that was inherent in him from all Antiquity: And "that it was the ſame Thing to "be without the Bill, and not to provide againſt the "King's diſpenſing with the not obeying it, whoſe In-"clinations were well known in this Particular; and "therefore the Effect of them, and of the Importu-"nity of the Courtiers, muſt be provided againſt." And throughout this Diſcourſe there was ſuch a Liberty of Language made Uſe of, as reflected more upon the King's Honour, and indeed upon his whole

Council and Court, than had been heard in that Houſe, but in a Time of Rebellion, without very ſevere Reprehenſion: And it ſo much offended the Houſe now, that, notwithſtanding all the ſturdy Oppoſition, it was reſolved that thoſe Clauſes and *Proviſos* ſhould be amended in ſome Places, and totally left out in others. And with the Alteration and Amendments it was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons.

Theſe Clauſes are amended by the Lords.

At this Time the publick Affairs and Neceſſities were little looked after or conſidered. The Fleet was come into the Ports, but there was no Money to pay off the Men: And what was equally miſchievous, there was no Way to make the Proviſions for the next Spring, that the Fleet might be ready for the Sea by the Time the Enemy would aſſuredly be out. If the Victualler were not ſupplied, who had much Money due to him, the Seaſon would be paſt in which He was to buy the Cattle that He muſt kill; and He complained how much He ſhould ſuffer by this Bill of *Ireland*, which already raiſed the Price of all Meats. And the Yards wanted all thoſe Tacklings and Rigging and Maſts, without which another Fleet could not be ſent out, and which could no otherwiſe be provided than by ready Money. The King had anticipated all his own Revenue, and was ready to expoſe that for farther Security, but Nobody would truſt. The new *Proviſos* in the Bill of Supply at *Oxford* gave no new Credit, but were found as miſchievous as any Body had apprehended they would be: And the Bankers, who in all ſuch Occaſions were a ſure Refuge, wanted now Credit themſelves; which that They might not recover, the Parliament had treated them as ill ſince They came together, that is, with Reproaches and Threats, as They had done at *Oxford*. In which (381) Kind of Perſecution Sir *William Coventry*, and ſome who followed him, led the Van, very much to the King's Prejudice and againſt his Command; but They excuſed themſelves, upon the Credit it gave them in the Houſe to do him Service.

All

ALL this was well enough underſtood: And it was as viſible, that They intended to make it a forcible Argument for the paſſing the *Iriſh* Bill, which, though from different Motives, was now become the Sacrifice without which They would not be appeaſed; and therefore, when the Bill was ſent to them with thoſe Alterations and Amendments, They rejected them all, and voted, "that They would adhere to their own "Bill without departing from a Word of it, except "with Reference to *Scotland*," from which They had receded. And if upon this very unuſual Return the Houſe of Peers had likewiſe voted, "that They too "would adhere," which They might regularly have done, and would have been conſented to by the major Part of the Houſe if the Queſtion had been then put; there had been an End of that Bill. But that muſt not be ſuffered: The Party that cheriſhed it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep Silence, and were numerous enough to obſtruct and defer what They liked not, though not to eſtabliſh what They deſired. Some of them, that is, ſome who deſired that the Bill ſhould paſs, though uncorrupted by their Paſſions, did not like the Obſtinacy of the Houſe of Commons in not departing from ſome unuſual Clauſes and Pretences; yet were not willing to have the like Vote for adhering to paſs in that Houſe, which it might do when all other Remedies ſhould fail; and therefore moved, "that a Conference might be required, in which ſuch "Reaſons might be given as might ſatisfy them." Many Conferences, and free Conferences, were held, in which the Commons ſtill maintained their Adherence with a wonderful Petulance: And thoſe Members, who were appointed to manage the Conferences, took the Liberty to uſe all thoſe Arguments, and the very Expreſſions, which had been uſed in the Houſe of Peers, againſt leaving any Power in the King to diſpenſe; and added ſuch other of their own as more reflected on his Majeſty's Honour; and yet concluded as if They could ſay more if They were provoked,

The Commons adhere to their Bill.

upon which every Man might make what Gloſſes He pleaſed, and the King himſelf was left to his own Imaginations.

An Inſtance of the Paſſion of the Commons in this Affair.

THERE need be no other Inſtance given of the unheard of and incredible Paſſion that was ſhewed in the Tranſaction of that Bill, than a Particular that related to the City of *London*. Upon the News of the great Fire in *London*, and the Devaſtation that it made there, there was ſo general a Lamentation in *Ireland* as might be expected from a neighbour Province, that had ſo great a Commerce with and Dependance upon it. And the Conſent in this Lamentation was ſo digeſted, that the ſeveral Provinces had made a Computation and Diviſion between themſelves, and preſented a Declaration to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that They had "ſo tender a Senſe of that Calamity, that if They were "able to raiſe Money to adminiſter ſome Aſſiſtance to "the City towards the Reparation of their great Loſs, "They would willingly offer and preſent it: But that "not being in their Power or Poſſeſſion, the great "Scarcity and Want of Money throughout that King-"dom being notoriouſly known, but there being "Somewhat in their Power to offer, which might at "leaſt teſtify their Good-Will, and not be wholly "uſeleſs towards the End They deſigned it; They "had agreed between themſelves to give unto the "Lord Mayor and City of *London*, to be diſpoſed of "by them to ſuch particular Uſes as They ſhould judge "moſt convenient, the Number of thirty thouſand "*Iriſh* Beaſts, which ſhould be delivered within ſuch "a Time and at ſuch Ports," which were named, "to any ſuch Perſons as ſhould be appointed to re-"ceive them." And of this They deſired the Lord Lieutenant and Council to advertiſe the King, and likewiſe give Notice to the City of *London:* Both which were done accordingly; and the Advertiſement arrived in the City in the Time when this Bill was depending in the Lords Houſe. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen preſented a Petition to the Lords, with

a *Proviſo*

a *Proviſo* that They deſired might be inſerted in the Bill that was before them, by which it was provided, "that Nothing contained in that Bill ſhould hinder "the City of *London* from enjoying the charitable Do-"native of the thirty thouſand Cattle, but that They "might have Liberty to import the ſame."

IT can hardly be believed with what Paſſion and Indignation this Petition was received by the Houſe, what Invectives were made againſt the City, "for "their Preſumption in interpoſing their own particular "Intereſt to obſtruct the publick Affairs of the King-"dom;" and then the Reflections which were made upon the Council of *Ireland*, "for giving Counte-"nance to ſuch an Addreſs, and becoming Inſtru-"ments themſelves to promote and advance it:" Which They would not allow "to be an Offering of "Charity, but a Cheat and a Cozenage by Combi-"nation to elude an Act of Parliament, which They "could not chooſe but hear of, and could not but be-"lieve that it was paſſed by this Time. Which if it "had been, and that Power left in the King as had "been propoſed, They might now ſee how it would "have been applied: For They could not doubt, but "there would enough have adviſed the King, that He "ſhould gratify the City of *London* with a Licenſe for "this Importation; which could not or would not "have been ſo warily drawn, but that, under the Li-"cenſe for thirty thouſand, there would be three hun-"dred thouſand imported into *England*; and this the "great Charity aimed at and was aſſured of." And ſo, after much Bitterneſs, They deſired "that the Pe-"tition and the *Proviſo* might be Both rejected."

BUT this Paſſion did not cover the whole Houſe, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much leſs tranſported with it. They believed it was a very ſeaſonable Intention of Charity, and would not take upon them to fruſtrate it; and ſo prevailed, that it was paſſed in that Houſe, and tranſmitted with Approbation to the other. But it had the ſame Fate there

with the other *Proviſos*, and was thrown out with that Bitterneſs and Obſervation which had been offered againſt it by ſome Lords. Nor could any Expedients alter or remove their Obſtinacy, though many were offered upon Conferences, and particularly "that all "the Beaſts ſhould be killed in *Ireland* and powdered "there, and then ſent over in Barrels or other Caſks;" but They found Cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the Cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, as if it would for a Time keep down the Price of Meat in *England*, which They deſired to advance: So that there was Nothing gotten in all thoſe Conferences, but the Diſcovery of new Jealouſies of the King and the Court, and new Inſinuations of the Diſcontents and Murmurs in the Country, that this Bill was ſo long obſtructed. Which being ſtill repreſented to the King with the moſt ghaſtly Aſpects towards what Effects it might produce, his Majeſty in the End was prevailed upon, notwithſtanding very earneſt Advice to the Contrary, not only to be willing to give his Royal Aſſent when it ſhould be offered to him, but to take very great Pains to remove thoſe Obſtructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to ſolicit particularly very many Lords to depart from their own Senſe, and to conform to what He thought convenient to his Service; which gave (383) thoſe who loved him not great Argument of Triumph, and to thoſe who loved him very paſſionately much Matter of Mortification. Yet after all this, and when his Majeſty had changed ſome Men's Reſolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be abſent when the Bill ſhould come again to be diſcuſſed, it was carried with great Difficulty and with great Oppoſition, and againſt the Proteſtation of many of the Lords.

The Bill at length conſented to by the Houſe of Lords.

In all the Debate upon this Bill, and upon the other of Accounts, the Chancellor had the Misfortune to loſe much Credit in the Houſe of Commons, not only by a very ſtrong and cordial Oppoſition to what They deſired, but by taking all Occaſions, which were offered

fered by the frequent Arguments which were urged "of the Opinion and the Authority of the Houſe of "Commons, and that it was fit and neceſſary to con- "cur with them," to mention them with leſs Reve- rence than They expected. It is very true, He had always uſed in ſuch Provocations to deſire the Lords, "to be more ſolicitous in preſerving their own un- "queſtionable Rights and moſt important Privileges, "and leſs tender in reſtraining the Exceſs and new "Encroachments of the Houſe of Commons, which "extended their Juriſdiction beyond their Limits." He put them often in Mind "of the Miſchiefs which "had their Original from the Liberties the Houſe of "Commons aſſumed, and the Compliance the Houſe "of Peers had deſcended to, in the late ill Times, and "which produced the Rebellion; and were carried ſo "far, till, after all the multiplied Affronts, They had "wreſted the whole Authority out of the Hands of the "Houſe of Peers, and at laſt declared them uſeleſs "Members of the Commonwealth, and ſhut up the "Door of their Houſe with a Padlock, which They "had never Power to unfaſten till the King's Return." And in thoſe Occaſions his Expreſſions were many Times ſo lively, that they offended many of the Lords who were preſent, and had too much contributed to thoſe Extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the Commons.

The Chancellor offends the Commons by deſiring the Peers to reſtrain their Encroachments.

THE Truth is, He did never diſſemble from the Time of his Return with the King, whom He had likewiſe prepared and diſpoſed to the ſame Sentiments whilſt his Majeſty was abroad, that his Opinion was, "that the late Rebellion never could be extirpated and "pulled up by the Roots, till the King's regal and in- "herent Power and Prerogative ſhould be fully "avowed and vindicated; and till the Uſurpations in "Both Houſes of Parliament ſince the Year 1640 "were diſclaimed and made odious; and many other "Exceſſes, which had been affected by Both before "that Time under the Name of Privileges, ſhould be "reſtrained

"restrained or explained:" For all which Reformation the Kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the King to it. Nor did the Convention, which proclaimed the King and invited him to return, exercise after his Return any exorbitant Power, but what was of Necessity upon former Irregularities, and contributed to the present Ends and Desires of the King.

And this Parliament, that was upon the Dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the King's Writ, willingly inclined to that Method, as appears by those many excellent Acts which vindicated the King's Sovereign Power over Parliaments, and declared the Nullity of all Acts done by one or Both Houses without the King's Assent; declared and settled the absolute Power of the Crown over the Militia; repealed that Act of Parliament that had excluded the Bishops from being Members of the House of Peers, and restored them to their Session there; and repealed that other infamous Act for Triennial Parliaments, which had Clauses in it to have led the People into Rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same (384) Method, if They had had the same Advice and Encouragement.

But They had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in Matters out of their own Sphere, to give their Advice with Reference to Peace and War, to hold Conferences with the King, and to offer their Advices to him, and to receive Orders from himself; and his Majesty was persuaded by very unskilful Men, "that They were "so absolutely at his Disposal, that He need never "doubt their undertaking any Thing that would be "ingrateful to him, and that whilst He preserved "that entire Interest He had in the lower House "(which He might easily do) He need not care what "the other House did or had a Mind to do;" and so induced his Majesty to undervalue his House of Peers as of little Power to do him Good or Harm, and prevailed

vailed with him too far to countenance that falſe Doctrine; towards which the Houſe of Peers themſelves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or conſidering the publick State of the Kingdom, or providing Remedies for growing Evils, or indeed meddling with any Thing in the Government till They were invited to it by ſome Meſſage or Overture from the Houſe of Commons: Inſomuch as They ſate not early in the Morning, according to the former Cuſtom of Parliaments, but came not together till ten of the Clock; and very often adjourned as ſoon as They met, becauſe that Nothing was brought from the Houſe of Commons that adminiſtered Cauſe of Conſultation; and upon that Ground often adjourned for one or two Days together, whilſt the other Houſe ſate, and drew the Eyes of the Kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant People for their Good.

THEN when any Thing fell in their Way, that They could draw a Conſequence from that might relate to their Privileges, They were ſo jealous of an Invaſion, that They neither conſidered former Precedents, nor Rules of Honour or Juſtice; and were not only ſolicitous for that Freedom which belonged to themſelves and their menial Servants, who ought not to be diſquieted by private Suits and Proſecutions in Law, whilſt They are obliged to attend upon the Service of their Country in Parliament, but gave their Protections *ad Libitum*, which were commonly ſold by their Servants to bankrupt Citizens, and to ſuch who were able but refuſed to pay their juſt Debts. And when their Creditors knew that They could have no Relation of Attendance to any Man, and thereupon cauſed them to be arreſted, They produced ſome Protection granted to them by ſome Lord; whereupon They were not only diſcharged, but their Creditors, and all who bore any Part in the Proſecution, were puniſhed with great Rigour, and to their great Loſs and Damage, and to the great Prejudice of the City, and Interruption of the whole Courſe of the Juſtice of the Kingdom.

WHEN

When the Houſe of Commons ſent up a Bill for the Suppreſſion or Reformation of many Irregularities and Miſdemeanors, which had grown up in the late Times of Diſorder and Confuſion, as Conventicles and other riotous Aſſemblies, wherein there was a Neceſſity of ſome Clauſes of Power to inferiour Officers, whereby They were qualified to diſcover thoſe Tranſgreſſions which would otherwiſe be concealed; the Lords would be ſure always to inſert ſome *Proviſo* to ſave their Privileges, even in Acts which provided for the Puniſhment of ſuch Crimes as no Perſon of Quality could be ſuppoſed to be guilty of, as ſtealing of Wood, and ſuch vile Treſpaſſes: Which took up much Time in Debate, and incenſed the Houſe of Commons, and produced many froward Debates, in which the King thought the Peers in the Wrong.

This Kind of Temper or Diſtemper upon very trivial and light Occaſions, in Seaſons which required Gravity and Diſpatch, provoked the Houſe of Commons to take more upon them, to enter upon Conteſts ſometimes unreaſonably with the Lords, and to aſſume to themſelves an Authority in Matters in which They ought not to interpoſe; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by thoſe who had near Relation to the King and were truſted in his Service, to affect Novelties both in the Form and Subſtance of their Proceedings, which thoſe Perſons concurred in, much out of Ignorance what was to be done, and more out of Affectation to compaſs ſome crooked End of their own, to the Prejudice of another Perſon who was in their Diſfavour. And when theſe Sallies out of the old trodden Path were taken Notice of, and his Majeſty had been adviſed to prevent them in Time, He was perſuaded, either "that the Exceptions were "in Matters of little Moment, and made only by "formal Men who liked Nothing that was out of the "old common Road; or that the Liberty would be "applied to his Service, and in many uſeful Occaſions "would mollify or ſubdue the inconvenient Moroſity

"ſity of the Lords; or, when it ſhould exceed, it "would be ſtill in his Majeſty's Power to reſtrain it, "when He found it neceſſary." And theſe Diſcourſes prevailed too much with his Majeſty, till He now found the Humour was grown too ſturdy for him to contend with; and the ſame Men, who had perſuaded him to contemn it, were now more importunate with him that He would comply with it.

He offends the Lords by adviſing them not to inſiſt unreaſonably upon Privilege.

THE Chancellor had always as earneſtly oppoſed the over-captious inſiſting upon Privilege in the Lords Houſe, either when in Truth there was not a juſt Ground for it, or when They would extend it farther than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in Mind "of many exorbitant Acts which ſtood "ſtill mentioned in their Journal-Books, of their Pro- "ceedings in the late rebellious Times, which might "be looked upon as Precedents by Poſterity, and in "which the Houſe of Commons had really invaded "their greateſt Privileges, and trampled upon their "higheſt Juriſdiction; which was worthy of their "moſt ſtrict Proceedings to vindicate by Proteſtation, "and by expunging the Memorial thereof out of all "their Books and Records, that there might be no "Footſteps left to miſlead the ſucceeding Ages;" and often deſired them "to preſerve a Power in themſelves "to put the Houſe of Commons in Mind of their ex- "ceeding their Limits, for which They often gave "them Occaſion, and particularly as often as They "ſent to quicken them in any Debate, which was a "very modern Preſumption, and derogatory from that "Reſpect which a Houſe of Commons had always "paid to the Houſe of Lords. And this They could "not reaſonably or effectually do, till They declined "all unjuſt or unneceſſary Pretences to Privileges "which were not their Due, and eſpecially to a Power "of calling private Caſes of Right and Juſtice, which "ought to be determined by the Law and in Courts "of Juſtice, to be heard and adjudged before them- "ſelves in Parliament; of which there were too fre- "quent

"quent Occaſions to oppoſe and contradict their Ju-
"riſdiction."

THIS free Way of Diſcourſe offended many of the Lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the Privilege of the Peerage: And They were now very glad that He uſed ſo much more Freedom againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, which They were ſure would be reſented below, more than it had been above. And many of his Friends informed him "how ill it was taken; and how carefully "all that He ſaid, and much that He did not ſay, was "tranſmitted by ſome of the Lords to them, who would "not fail in ſome Seaſon to remember and apply it to "his higheſt Diſadvantage;" and therefore deſired him "to uſe leſs Fervour in thoſe Argumentations." But He was in that, as in many Things of that Kind that related to the offending other Men for his own Sake, uncounſellable: Not that He did not know that it expoſed him to the Cenſure of ſome Men who lay in Wait to do him Hurt, but becauſe He neglected thoſe Cenſures, nor valued the Perſons who promoted them; being confident that He would be liable to no Charge that He ſhould be aſhamed of, and well knowing that He had, and being well known to have, a higher Eſteem of Parliament, and a greater Deſire to preſerve the juſt Privileges of Both Houſes, than They had who ſeemed to be angry with him on that Behalf; and that the extending them beyond their due Length would in the End endanger the Deſtruction of Parliaments.

BUT He ſhortly after found, that this Guard was not ſecure enough to defend him. What He ſaid in Parliament was the Senſe of more who would not ſpeak it, than there were of thoſe who diſliked it; and how much ſoever it offended them, They could not out of it find a Crime to accuſe him of. But They who were more concerned to remove him from a Poſt, where He too narrowly watched and too often obſtructed the Liberties They took, reſolved to ſacrifice

all

all their Oaths and Obligations, which obliged them to the Contrary, to the Satisfaction of their Envy and their Malice: And ſo whatſoever He ſaid or adviſed in the moſt ſecret Council to the King himſelf with Reference to Things or Perſons, They communicated all to thoſe who had moſt Reaſon to be angry, yet could not own the Information. Of all which He had Advertiſement, and that a Storm would be ſhortly raiſed to ſhake him, of which He had little Apprehenſion; never ſuſpecting that it would ariſe out of that Quarter, from whence He ſoon after diſcerned it to proceed.

Lord Roos moves for a Bill to ſet aſide the Iſſue of his Lady.

THERE was another particular and private Accident that fell out at this Time, that adminiſtered more Occaſion of Faction and Diſſenſion in the Houſes, which always obſtructed and perplexed all publick Buſineſs. The Marquis of *Dorcheſter* had ſome Years before married one of his Daughters to the Lord *Roos*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Rutland*; Both Families very noble in themſelves, and of great Fortunes, and allied to all the great Families of the Kingdom. The Lady being of a Humour not very agreeable, and not finding the Satisfaction She expected where She ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where She ought not to find it. And her Huſband, as Men conſcious to themſelves of any notable Defect uſe to be, was indulgent enough, not ſtrictly inquiring how She behaved herſelf, and She as little diſſembling or concealing the Contempt She had of her Huſband; until his Friends, eſpecially the Mother (who was a Lady of a very great Spirit and moſt exalted Paſſion), took Notice of her frequent Abſence from her Huſband, and of her little Kindneſs towards him when She was preſent with him. And the young Lady, who with her other Defects had Want of Wit to bear a Reprehenſion She deſerved, inſtead of excuſing, avowed her no Eſteem of her Huſband; charged him with Debauchery, and being always in Drink, which was too true; and reproached him with Folly, as a

Man

Man not worthy to be beloved. And the Paſſion ſwelling to a great Height on Both Sides, the Marquis came to be engaged on the Behalf of his Daughter, and challenged her Huſband to fight with him, who in many Reſpects was not capable, nor did underſtand thoſe Encounters.

In the End, after many Acts of Paſſion, which adminiſtered too much Cauſe of Mirth and Scandal to the World, yet by the Advice and Mediation of Friends, as good a Reconciliation as in ſuch Caſes is uſual was made, and the young Couple brought to live again together. And the Lady having the Aſcendant over the Lord, who was very deſirous to live quietly upon any Conditions, that He might enjoy himſelf though He could not enjoy her, He was contented that She made a Journey to *London*, upon Pretence to ſee ſome Friends: And the Time being expired which She had preſcribed for her Abſence, He ſent to her to return, which She deferred from Time to Time. But at laſt after many Months She returned to him in ſo groſs a Manner, that it appeared that She had kept Company too much, which She never endeavoured to conceal; and when her Huſband told her "that She was with "Child," and aſked "who got it;" She anſwered him confidently, "that whoever got it, if it proved a "Boy, as She believed it would, He ſhould be Earl "of *Rutland*."

This was more than the young Man could bear without informing his Mother (the good Earl not loving to engage himſelf in ſo much Noiſe), who preſently took Care that the greatbellied Lady was made a Priſoner in her Chamber, ſtrictly guarded, that She could not go out of thoſe Lodgings which were aſſigned her; all her own Servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other Things ſupplied that She could ſtand in Need of or require, Liberty only excepted. Yet in this cloſe Reſtraint She found Means to advertiſe her Father of the Condition She was in, and made it much worſe than it was, ſeeming

ſeeming to apprehend the Safety of her Life threatened by the Malice of the Counteſs, Mother to her Huſband, "who," She ſaid, "did all She could to alienate "his Affection from her; and now that She found She "was with Child, would perſuade him that it was not "his; and took all this extreme Courſe, either to "make her miſcarry and to endanger her Life, or to "put an End to Mother and Child when She ſhould "miſcarry:" And therefore beſought her Father, "that He would find ſome Way to procure her Li-"berty, and to remove her from that Place, as the "only Means to ſave her Life."

THE Marquis, with the Paſſion of a Father, and Confidence of his Daughter's Virtue, and having no Reverence for the Counteſs, thought it an Act of great Barbarity, and conſulted whether He could have any Remedy at Law to recover his Daughter's Liberty; and finding little Hope from thence (the Reſtraint of a Wife by the Jealouſy of her Huſband in his own Houſe being not a Crime the Law had provided a Remedy againſt) He reſorted then to the King, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean Time He ſent Women to ſee and attend his Daughter, who were admitted to ſee and confer with her, but not to ſtay with her; the Counteſs declaring, "that She ſhould want Nothing; but that ſince it was "impoſſible that the Child could be of Kin to her Son, "who had not ſeen her in ſo many Months before the "Child muſt have been got, She would provide that "there ſhould be no more foul Play, when She ſhould "be delivered; and after that Time She ſhould have "no more Reſtraint or Reſidence in that Houſe, but "be at Liberty to go whither She would."

THE Concluſion was, The Lady was delivered, and a Son born, who was quickly chriſtened by the Name of *Ignoto*, and committed to a poor Woman, who lived near, to be nurſed; and as ſoon as the Lady recovered Strength enough, She was diſmiſſed and ſent to a Houſe of her Father, who received her with

with the Affection He thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the Strictneſs He could, He remained ſatisfied in her Innocence, and conſequently of the barbarous Treatment She had received, and the Injury and Indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the Son; for which He was reſolved to leave no Way untried in which He might receive a Vindication. In order to which He firſt deſired the King to hear all Parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a Day for the doing it, being attended by ſome Biſhops and other Lords of his Council; when the Marquis and his Daughter, and the Lord *Roos* and his Mother, appeared, with more Ladies than could have the Patience to ſtay till the End of the Examination, where there were ſo many indecent and uncleanly Particulars mentioned, that made all the Auditors very weary. Nor was there any Room for his Majeſty to interpoſe towards a Reconciliation, which was in View impoſſible; nor could the Lady be excuſed for a great Delight She took in making her Huſband jealous of her, and in expreſſing a Contempt of him, whatever elſe She was guilty of: And ſo the King left it as He found it. And the Marquis, who had heard many Things He did not expect to have heard, took his Daughter to his own Houſe, that by her own ſtrict Behaviour She might beſt vindicate herſelf from the Scandal She lay under: But She quickly freed him from that Hope and Expectation; for within a ſhort Time after, She, not being able to ſubmit to the ſtrict Order and Diſcipline of her Father's Houſe, which would not permit thoſe Wanderings She deſired to make, nor the Viſits She deſired to receive, made an Eſcape from thence, and lodged herſelf at more Liberty, and lived in that Manner as gave too much Evidence againſt her with Reference to the Time that was paſt.

THE Marquis, who was a Man of great Honour, and moſt punctual in all Things relating to Juſtice, gave a noble Inſtance of Both, and how much He deteſted the

the base and unworthy Behaviour of his own Child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble Family, asked their Pardon "for his Incredu-"lity, and for any Offence He had committed against "them or Reproach He laid upon them, for the "Vindication of an unworthy Woman, who He be-"lieved now had deserved all and more Aspersions "than had been laid on her: And therefore He was "ready to join with them to free the Family, as much "as was possible, from the Infamy She had brought "to them and him, and that her base Issue might not "be an eternal Reproach in their Family." Upon this She was first, upon the Complaint of her Husband, cited into the Court of the Arches before the Ecclesiastical Judges: Where, after a full Examination of Witnesses on Both Sides, and hearing what She could allege in her own Defence, her Crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a Judgment was pronounced "of a full and entire Separation "*a Toro et a Mensâ pro Causâ Adulterii*," in such a Form, and with such Circumstances, as are of Course in those Cases.

BUT all this was not Remedy enough against the Bastard's Title to the Honour of that illustrious Family: And therefore there was a Bill prepared, wherein all the foul Carriage of the Lady was set out, the Birth and Christening of *Ignoto*, the Declaration and Judgment of the Court of the Arches, and Separation of the Parties for the Adultery proved; and thereupon a Desire that it might be declared by Act of Parliament, "that the Son, *Ignoto*, by Name, is "a Bastard, and incapable to inherit any Part of the "Title, Honour or Estate of or belonging to the "House of *Rutland*; and the same Incapacity to at-"tend all other Children, which from that Time, the "Birth of *Ignoto*, had or might be born from the Body "of that Lady." And this Bill being presented to the House of Peers by a Lord nearly allied to that Family, the Earl of *Rutland* being present with the

A Bill brought in for this Purpose.

Marquis, as ſoon as it was read the Marquis ſtood up, and "with Expreſſions of Trouble, and of the Juſtice "that was due to the Greatneſs of a noble Houſe, that "had received a foul Blemiſh by a Woman of too "near a Relation to him, of whom He was aſhamed," gave his free Conſent to the Bill, and deſired that it might paſs: And the Earl likewiſe beſought the Houſe, "that ſo infamous a Branch might not be ingrafted "into his Family, of which his Son the Lord *Roos* "was the ſole Heir Male, with whom the Honour "muſt expire."

Some Lords againſt a Precedent of this Nature.

It was a Caſe of general Concernment as well as Compaſſion, that an impudent Woman ſhould have the Power to give an Heir to inherit a noble Title and Fortune by Deſcent, when it was ſo notoriouſly known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere Stranger to the Blood of the Houſe. Yet there were ſome very good Lords, and who deteſted the Woman and the Wickedneſs, made much Scruple of making a new Precedent in a particular Caſe, that undermined a Foundation of Law, and opened a Door to let in an unjuſt Declaration, upon Pretences not ſo well proved, to the Diſinheriſon of one that ſhould not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare Caſe, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two Declarations of Baſtardy in Parliament in the Reign of King *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII.

However it was as juſt that She ſhould be heard, to defend both herſelf and her Son; and therefore the Bill being read the ſecond Time, it was committed, with Direction "that the Lady ſhould have perſonal "Notice to attend, before the Committee entered upon "it:" And after long Inquiry at the Places where She uſed to be, it was found that She had tranſported herſelf into *Ireland*, in the Company of the Perſon whom She had preferred before her Huſband; and there was Reaſon to believe, that it was after She had Notice of the Bill. However all Proceedings were reſpited till there was full Proof given to the Houſe, by the Perſon

ſon himſelf who had ſpoken with her in *Ireland*, and given her the Warrant that required her Attendance upon the Committee: And then, after many Days longer Delay, it was read and debated, and by the Committee reported to the Houſe to be engroſſed.

AND then, and not till then, the Duke of *Buckingham* oppoſed the paſſing of it, upon Pretence, "that "in the Bill the Lord *Roos* had aſſumed a Title that "belonged to him by his Mother, who had been Heir "Female to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*;" when that Title, now challenged, had deſcended to *George* the Brother of *Francis*, and had been enjoyed by two Earls of *Rutland* ſince. It was generally thought a ſtrange Exception: Nor was it known, whether the Duke was diſpoſed to it as a Revenge upon the Marquis, or to ſhew his own Power (for He had many who concurred with him in Both Houſes upon many Occaſions), or whether He did in Truth deſire to ſupport the Lady in her Infamy, He not being over-tender in Caſes of that Nature. However it was neceſſary to recommit the Bill, that ſome Expedient might be there found to remove the Obſtruction, which though He was obſtinate in till the Houſe was tired with many Days Debate upon it, in which moſt of his Adherents upon the Unreaſonableneſs left him, He perſiſted ſtill and maintained the Debate almoſt alone, till the Time of the Seſſion approached; when the Lord *Roos* was compelled to humour him in leaving out a Title that all the World gave him. And then, after intolerable Vexation to the Houſe and Loſs of Time, He deſiſted to appear againſt it; and the Act paſſed the Royal Aſſent.

The Duke of Buckingham *obſtructs the Bill.*

Not correct.

But it is at length paſſed.

THE ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons was not abated; and though They knew well that their *Iriſh* Bill could never have paſſed the upper Houſe but by the King's powerful Interpoſition, They remained ſtill jealous, or pretended to be ſo, that He would not give his Aſſent; which till He ſhould do, They would admit no Debate of Money: So that as ſoon as the Bill

was preſented to him, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons to attend him upon the 18th Day of *January*; when, after He had given his Conſent to that and another private Bill which They had preſented, He told them, "that He had "now paſſed their Bills, and that He had been in "Hope to have had other Bills ready to have paſſed "too." He ſaid, "that He could not forget, that "within few Days after their coming together in *Sep-* "*tember*, Both Houſes had preſented to him their Vote "and Declaration, *that They would give him a Supply* "*proportionable to his Occaſions*; and the Confidence of "that had made him anticipate that ſmall Part of his "Revenue which was unanticipated, for the Payment "of the Seamen; and his Credit had gone farther than "He had Reaſon to think it would, but it was now "at an End."

The King paſſes the Iriſh Bill with a Speech.

"THIS was the firſt Day," He ſaid, "He had heard "of a Supply, being the 18th of *January*, and what "it would amount unto, God only knew; and what "Time He had to make ſuch Preparations as were "neceſſary to meet three ſuch Enemies as He had, "They could well enough judge. And He muſt tell "them, what Diſcourſes ſoever were abroad, He was "not in any Treaty; but by the Grace of God He "would not give over himſelf and them, but would "do what was in his Power for Defence of Both. It "was high Time for them to make good their Pro- "miſe; and it was high Time for them to be in the "Country, as well for the raiſing of Money, as that "the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants "might watch thoſe ſeditious Spirits which were at "Work to diſturb the publick Peace. And therefore "He was reſolved to put an End to that Seſſion on "*Monday* next come Sennight, before which Time He "deſired that all Things might be made ready that "He was to diſpatch." His Majeſty ſaid, "He was "not willing to complain that They had dealt unkindly "with him in a Bill He had then paſſed, in which

"They

"They had manifeſted a greater Diſtruſt of him than "He had deſerved. He did not pretend to be with- "out Infirmities, but He had never broken his Word "to them; and if He did not flatter himſelf, the Na- "tion had never leſs Cauſe to complain of Grievances, "or the leaſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, than it had had "in thoſe ſeven Years ſince it had pleaſed God to re- "ſtore him to them: He would," He ſaid, "be glad "to be uſed accordingly."

THIS little Quickneſs in his Majeſty prevailed more upon them, than all the former Application had done: And now They ſaw that They ſhould not be ſuffered *to* continue longer together, They reſolved to leave ſome Reliſh of their former Duty and Compliance. Not that the Humour was at all reformed or abated in thoſe who had ſhewed ſo much Frowardneſs, who ſtill continued as perverſe as ever; but They were over-ruled by the major Part of the Houſe, as They would have been ſooner, if it had not been that a contrary Courſe had been purſued to what had been formerly. Nor were They, who had adviſed that Change, willing that his Majeſty ſhould decline the ſame Method, and were much troubled that He had not careſſed the Houſe more in his late Diſcourſe. And as They had before adviſed his Majeſty freely and without any Condition to offer the Repeal, and releaſe the Act that had granted the Chimney-Money to him, which was a very good and growing Revenue, but They obſerved to be unpopular; upon a Preſumption (which They aſſured him could not fail) that ſo generous an Action in his Majeſty towards his People would be immediately requited by a Grant of much greater Value (and They had prevailed in this Counſel, if the Chancellor and the Treaſurer had not with great Reſolution oppoſed it, and made evident to his Majeſty, "that He ought never to propoſe it himſelf "though with Conditions, becauſe it would make the "Grace undervalued, and the Conditions to be "eſteemed unreaſonable; nor to hearken to any ge-

"neral Propoſition, or conſent to the Repeal of that "Act, without having a full and equivalent Recom- "penſe (which ought to be very well weighed) grant- "ed in the ſame Act of Parliament; for He had now "ſufficient Evidence, that the conſtant Good-Humour "of the Houſe was not to be depended upon:" Which confirmed his Majeſty to reſolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and ſo that Miſchief was prevented): So They were now as deſirous that the Houſe of Commons would ſtill preſs the Diſpatch of the Bill of Accounts, which reſted in the Lords Houſe; and aſſured them, "that if They would "embrace the ſame Poſitiveneſs They had done, the "Chancellor would be no more able to hinder the "paſſing of that Act, than He had been to keep his "Majeſty from conſenting to the *Iriſh* Bill ſo much "againſt his Reſolution." But They and their Friends could not keep up the ſame Spirit of Stubbornneſs in the Houſe, nor prevail with the King to recede from his Purpoſe: So that the Bill for Accounts remained ſtill in the Houſe of Lords not fully diſcuſſed. And ſuch a Progreſs was made in the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, that a Bill for Supply was prepared within the Time preſcribed, though in Reſpect of the Proportion not equal to the Occaſions, and entangled ſtill with the ſame inconvenient Clauſes and *Proviſos* which had ſo unwarily been admitted at *Oxford*, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready Money; of which his Majeſty was now fully convinced. But the Time was too ſhort to labour in the Alteration. And ſo the Bill, as it was, was ſent up to the Lords, who, after the ſhort Formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a Paſſage through that Houſe: So that it was now ready for the King.

A Supply granted.

The King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

THE 8th of *February* the King came to the Parliament, and the Speaker of the Houſe preſented the Bill to the King, who gave his Royal Aſſent to it, and thanked them for it, with his Aſſurance "that the "Money

"Money ſhould be laid out for the Ends it was given: "However," He ſaid, "He hoped He ſhould live to "have Bills of this Nature in the old Style, with fewer "*Proviſos.*" He took Notice, "that the Bill of Ac- "counts for the Money that had been already raiſed "ſince the War was not offered to him: But," his Majeſty ſaid, "that He would take Care (after ſo "much Noiſe) that the ſame ſhould not be ſtifled; "but that He would iſſue out his Commiſſion in the "Manner He had formerly promiſed the Houſe of "Peers; and the Commiſſioners ſhould have very much "to anſwer, if They ſhould not diſcover all Matters of "Fraud and Cozenage." He told them, "the Sea- "ſon of the Year was very far ſpent, in which the "Enemy had got great Advantage; but by the Help "of God, He would make all the Preparations He "could, and as faſt as He could: And yet He would "tell them, that if any good Overtures were made for "an honourable Peace, He would not reject them; "and He believed all ſober Men would be glad to ſee "it brought to paſs."

"HE would now prorogue them till towards Win- "ter, that they might in their ſeveral Places intend the "Peace and Security of their ſeveral Countries, where "there were unquiet Spirits ſtill working. He did "pray them, and" ſaid "He did expect it from them, "that They would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to re- "move all thoſe falſe Imaginations out of the Hearts "of the People, which the Malice of ill Men had in- "duſtriouſly infuſed into them, of He knew not what "Jealouſies and Grievances: For He muſt tell them "again, and He was ſure He was in the Right, *that* 92) "*the People had never ſo little Cauſe to complain of Op-* "*preſſion and Grievances, as They had ſince his Return to* "*them.* If the Taxes and Impoſitions were grievous "and heavy upon them, They would put them in "Mind, that a War with ſuch powerful Enemies could "not be maintained without Taxes; and He was ſure "the Money raiſed thereby came not into his Purſe."

He

He concluded "with promiſing himſelf good Effects "from their Affections and Wiſdoms, wherever They "were: And He did hope They ſhould all meet again "of one Mind, for his Honour, and the Good of the "Kingdom." And ſo They were prorogued to the 10th Day of *October next*.

The King appoints Commiſſioners for inſpecting publick Accounts.

AND now the King had very much to do, more than He had Time or Tools to diſpatch. Yet He began firſt where the Parliament left off, that when They came again together They might have no Cauſe to ſay, that He had not performed what He had promiſed, and ſo with the ſame Paſſion renew their Clamour upon the Accounts, which was made now a very popular Complaint; and whoever was accuſed of obſtructing that Examination, was preſently concluded to have had a Share in the Prey. Yet He was not willing that ſuch a ſtrict Account or Examination ſhould be made, eſpecially into the Receipt of the Lord *Aſhley* for the Prizes, that the the World ſhould know what Money had been iſſued out by his own immediate Orders, and to whom. Hereupon He commanded his Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare a Commiſſion, with all neceſſary Clauſes, to call all Perſons to Account who had received any ſuch Monies, and to examine and take any Exception to the ſame.

AND that there might be no juſt Exception to the Commiſſion, which He knew would be ſtrictly looked into, They were required "to adviſe with all or any "of the Judges, that it might have their Approba"tion; and that there ſhould be a Clauſe in the Com"miſſion, whereby the Commiſſioners ſhould be au"thorized to call any of the Judges to their Aſſiſtance, "when upon any Matters of Difficulty They ſhould "think it neceſſary." And that there might be no Exception to any of the Commiſſioners, as like to be partial in Reſpect of Friendſhip or Alliance to any of thoſe who were to be called before them, his Majeſty appointed all thoſe Perſons, who were nominated for Com-

Commiſſioners in the Bill ſent to the Houſe of Lords by the Commons, to be inſerted into this Commiſſion; and likewiſe made Choice of ſuch a Number of the Peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named thoſe who had upon all Debates in the Houſe appeared moſt ſolicitous, that a very exact Account ſhould be required, and of ſuch others who had no Relation to the Court, and were looked upon with the utmoſt Eſteem by the Houſe of Commons: All which was prepared with the Expedition that was poſſible, and the Commiſſion ſealed; and Notice given to all the Commiſſioners, that They ſhould meet at a Place appointed, upon a Day named, preſently after *Eaſter*, by which Time the Judges would be returned out of their Circuits; and They were then at Liberty to adjourn to what Place They pleaſed.

WE are now to enter upon the Occurrences of the Year 1667, a Year little more proſperous to the Publick than the Year preceding, and fatal in Reſpect to many calamitous Accidents to the Chancellor, and which put a Period to his Greatneſs; the Circumſtances whereof, very notorious, were ſo interwoven with the publick Tranſactions of State, that it is not eaſy to make a diſtinct and clear Relation of the one without the other.

The King involved in great Difficulties.

THE Temper the Parliament had been in, and the Delay They had uſed in giving the King any Supply towards the carrying on the War, made the King diſcern that He had been too confident of their Generoſity, and that They had already departed from that Spirit with which They firſt had perſuaded him to enter into that War: And it was evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the *Dutch* could endure being beaten longer than He could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and ſupplied with the Money of *France*, and the governing Party had ſubdued all Contradictions; and whatever their Affections were, all Compliance and Submiſſion appeared to the Commands of the State; and there wanted Nothing but

but the Seaſon of the Year to carry their Fleet again to Sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All Murmuring was tranſplanted from thence into *England*, where it grew up plentifully: And the King was, upon the Credit of an Act of Parliament that was paſſed on the 8th of *February*, to provide a Fleet ready to encounter with the potent Enemies in the Spring. There was no Trade by Sea, and therefore could not be much by Land, that could bring any Benefit to the King; and the Seamen ran all to the Privateers, who adventured for Booty, which They preferred before ſerving in the Royal Navy.

He conſults the private Committee upon the perplexing State of his Affairs.

The King in thoſe Streights called that Council together with whom He uſed to conſult his moſt ſecret Affairs; and the chief Officers at Sea, and the Commiſſioners of the Navy, attended to give ſuch Information as was neceſſary before any Reſolution could be taken. There the whole State of the Navy was inquired into; what was in the Stores, and what the Defects or Deficiencies were, and what Hopes there were of ſupplying them; what Ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three Months. The Victualler was ſent for to give an Account what Proviſion of Victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on Board in the ſame Time, which was the utmoſt that could be limited. Every Officer proteſted, "that there could not be the leaſt Attempt to-"wards any Preparations without a good Sum of ready "Money:" And the Yards were in that Neceſſity by Reaſon of the great Arrear of Wages that was due to them, that They were near a Mutiny, and could not be kept to their Work, being neceſſitated to do any Work abroad to get Victual for their Families. The inferiour Officers, which belonged to the Stores, lived by ſtealing and ſelling what They were entruſted to keep. In ſhort, All Things were preſented to be in that Confuſion, that there appeared no Probability of being able to ſet out any Fleet before the Enemy would be ſo ſtrong upon the Coaſt, that it would be very difficult

difficult to make a Conjunction between thoſe Ships which were in the River, and the other which were at *Portſmouth* and in other Ports.

THIS deſperate Repreſentation did not make the King take a ſudden Reſolution: But the ſame Council met many Days Morning and Evening. All Ways were thought upon which might adminiſter Hope to get any Money; and Conſiderations were entered upon what was to be done in Caſe a Fleet could not be provided fit to engage the Enemy, and which Way a defenſive War was to be made at Sea, and how the Trade ſhould be ſecured, and the Coaſts and Harbours be ſo preſerved, that the Enemy might do no Affront at Land; for every Day brought looſe and ungrounded Intelligence of Bodies of Horſe and Foot, drawn in *France* to the Seaſide in many Places upon that large Coaſt, and likewiſe in *Holland*, and great Proviſion of Flatbottoms, as if They intended to make ſome Deſcent; which Kind of Rumours exceedingly diſcompoſed the common People, though They who underſtood the Expeditions of that Nature, and with what Difficulty Land Armies were tranſported, were not moved by thoſe Reports. After all Expedients were conſidered and well weighed, his Majeſty found Cauſe to deſpair of being able to ſet out in any Time a Fleet equal to the Occaſion, and ſo contracted his Thoughts to the other Part, for the Defenſive.

A Reſolution taken to act on the Defenſive.

THERE is a Point of Land on the *Kentiſh* Coaſt that extends itſelf into the Sea, and at the very Entrance of the River, where the King had often thought and diſcourſed of erecting a Royal Fort, that would both preſerve the Coaſt, and likewiſe be a great Security to the River: And the proſecuting this Deſign was in this Conſultation thought of great Importance, and the erecting another Fort in another Place, and repairing and ſtrengthening *Languard Point* upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*.

FOR Preparations for the Sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that a good Squadron of light Frigats "ſhould

" ſhould ride on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and another of " the ſame Strength lie off *Plymouth*, Both which " ſhould intercept the Trade of *Holland* both outward " and inward, if They did not maintain it with ſtrong " Convoys, which would break their Fleet; and in " thoſe Caſes the Frigats would eaſily retire to their " Harbours. That ſome Frigats ſhould always be in " the *Downs* to chaſe Picaroons from infeſting the " Coaſt, and to obſerve and get Intelligence of the " Enemies Motion, and upon Occaſion ſhould retire " up the River. That there ſhould be ſome of the " greateſt Ships at *Chatham*, *Portſmouth* and other " Places, prepared and put in Readineſs againſt the " End of Summer, before which Time Money might " be provided: And then the Enemies Fleet being " weary and foul, it might be preſumed the *French* " would return early into their own Ports, which were " ſo far off; and then the Frigats from the *Weſt* and " the *North* might find the Way to join with the great " Ships, which ſhould be ready againſt that Time, " and either fight the *Dutch* if They ſhould chooſe it, " or infeſt their Coaſt more than They had done this, " and take all their Ships homeward bound from all " Places, which, upon the Fame of their being Maſ- " ters of the Sea all the Summer, would repair Home " without Apprehenſion of an Enemy." And there were ſome Officers of great Experience at Sea, who, being called by the King to adviſe upon this Project, declared with Confidence, " that the *Dutch* would be " greater Loſers by the War thus conducted the next " Summer, than They had been in any Year ſince the " War begun."

For the Security of Trade, it was declared, " that " there was no poſſible Way to ſecure it but by re- " ſtraining it, and not ſuffering any Merchants Ships " to go to Sea, and by giving them Advice to ſend to " all their Factors and Correſpondents, *that They ſhould* " *ſend no Goods Home till They received new Orders:*" Which Reſtraint ſome were againſt, " both becauſe " it

"it would have an ill Reception with the People, "when They ſhould find that a War, which had been "entered into for the Enlargement and Advancement "of Trade, had produced a Ceſſation of all Trade; and "it would appear very hard that Men, who had laid "out their own Stocks and were willing to venture "them, ſhould be forbid and hindered from ſending "them to thoſe Markets for which They had provided "them, which would turn to little leſs Loſs to them "than They ſhould incur by their being taken by the "Enemy. Then it would be, not a Diſcouragement "but a Diſſipation of the Seamen, who, if They "could have no Employment in the King's Ships or "in the Merchant Ships, would be ſcattered abroad "to ſeek their Fortune, ſo that They would not be "brought together when the King had Occaſion for "their Service. In the laſt Place, That the giving "this Order for Reſtraint, and Advice to the Mer-"chants to inform their Factors and Correſpondents, "would be, and could not chooſe but be, an abſolute "Publication of this Reſolution of the King to ſend "out no Fleet in the Spring; which was yet agreed to "be the higheſt Secret."

ALL theſe Reaſons were temperately weighed and anſwered. "That it could not be unreaſonable or "unjuſt to hinder Men from doing themſelves Harm: "The King could not take their Goods from them to his "own Uſe; but He might lawfully hinder them from "ſpoiling or deſtroying the Goods that were their "own. That their being taken by the Enemy (which "would be unavoidable) concerned the King and the "Kingdom little leſs than it did the private Owners: "It would increaſe the Inſolence and the Wealth of "the Enemy, and reflect upon his Majeſty's Honour "as well as impoveriſh his Subjects; and the Diffe-"rence would be very great between loſing their Goods, "and keeping them upon their Hands for a better "Market. For the Diſſipation of the Seamen, there "would no great Danger be of that: The Squadrons

"on

"on the Weſtern and the Northern Coaſts, which "muſt be very well manned, would entertain good "Numbers; and the reſt would put themſelves on "Board the Privateers, who ſhould be all bound to "come Home againſt the Time the King would "have Occaſion for their Service, and then the Pri-"vateers ſhould be reſtrained as now the Merchants. "For the keeping the preſent Reſolution ſecret, which "would by this Means be publiſhed, it were to be de-"ſired that it might remain a Secret as long as ſhould "be poſſible: But as diſcerning Men would eaſily diſ-"cover it, and could not but already know that it "was impoſſible for the King in Time ſo ſet out a "Fleet, ſo it would quickly be evident to all the "World; and the Secret was not to be affected longer "than it could be concealed."

THERE was another Inconvenience or Miſchief that was in View, that would *come like an armed Man* upon the City, which was Want of Fewel, eſpecially the Want of Coals from *Newcaſtle*, of which there had been a vaſt Quantity conſumed in the late Fire, which had likewiſe conſumed thoſe Houſes and Chimnies which ſhould be ſupplied; yet the People remained ſtill, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded cloſer together. But to that there could be no other Remedy applied, but the ſending Orders to *Newcaſtle* to employ all their Ships, and all They could procure, in ſending as much Coal as was poſſible to *London* and the Towns adjacent, before the Enemies Fleet could put to Sea; and Convoys were aſſigned too ſtrong for their Privateers or ſmall Parties of their Men of War: And the King gave two or three Veſſels of his own, and likewiſe Money, to fetch Coals, that the Poor might have them at the Rates they coſt; and directed the City to do the ſame. All which produced ſome good Effect.

UPON the whole Matter, and thorough Examination of the Whole, the King concluded upon all the Particulars mentioned before, aſſigning proper Perſons

to

to ſuperviſe every Particular, that all ſhould be executed in Time that was agreed upon. The Duke iſſued out all his Orders to the Ships, with which Sir *William Coventry* was charged, whoſe Office it was: And the King would charge himſelf with that which was moſt important, the Fortification at *Sheerneſs*; whither his Majeſty made a Journey in the Cold and Depth of Winter, and took an Engineer and ſome Officers of the Ordnance with him, that all Things might be ſupplied from thence which belonged to that Office. He cauſed Maſter-Workmen to be ſent from *London*, and drew common Labourers enough out of the Country, having provided Money to pay them. And after all Things were in this Order, and He had ſeen the Work begun, He left the Maſter-Engineer, whom He deſigned to be the Governour of the Fort, for which He was very equal, upon the Place; and committed the overlooking of the Whole, that all poſſible Expedition might be uſed, to one of the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance, who promiſed to look carefully to it: And his Majeſty returned to *London*, when in the Opinion of all his Servants He had ſtayed too long in ſuch a Seaſon, and ſuch an Air, to the Danger of his Health. How all thoſe Reſolutions and Orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, muſt unavoidably be mentioned in its Place.

The King inſpects the Fortifications of Sheerneſs.

IT cannot be imagined by any Man who in any Degree knew him, that the Chancellor, though He was preſent, could have any Part in theſe Reſolutions but the ſubmitting to them; every Particular being ſo much out of his Sphere, that He never pretended to underſtand what was fit and reaſonable to be done: Nor throughout the whole Conduct of the War was He ever known to preſume to give an Advice; but preſuming that all whoſe Profeſſion it was adviſed what was fit, He readily concurred. And He did always declare, "that in this laſt Conſultation all Points were "ſo fully debated; and that there was ſo concurrent "an Opinion in the Commanders of the Ships, and "the

"the Officers of the Navy, with the Approbation of "the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and the General, "*that it was not poſſible to ſet out a Fleet in Time equal to* "*that of the Enemy, to engage with it; and that the next* "*beſt would be to ſtand upon the Defenſive in the Manner* "*propoſed:* That it did not appear to him, that there "was any Election left but to purſue that Courſe," which He did believe very reaſonably propoſed and reſolved upon; nor did any Thing occur to him, why very much Good might not be hoped from it, He being ſo totally unſkilful in the Knowledge of the Coaſt and the River, that He knew not where *Sheerneſs* was, nor had ever heard of the Name of ſuch a Place till this laſt Diſcourſe, nor had ever been upon any Part of the River with any other Thought about him, than to get on Shore as ſoon as could be poſſible.

THE King had not himſelf thought of this defenſive Way, but approved it very much when He heard it ſo fully diſcuſſed, and in which himſelf had propoſed all his Doubts, which no Man raiſed more pertinently in Arguments of that Nature than his Majeſty; and it may be He liked it the better, becauſe at that Time, as He was heartily weary of the War, ſo He was not without a reaſonable Hope of Peace, which He reſolved to cheriſh, as He told the Parliament at parting He would do. The Grounds of which Hope, and the Progreſs thereupon, the entering upon a Treaty, and the Concluſion thereof, will be the Diſcourſe and Relation We ſhall next enter upon.

The Swedes *diſpoſed to aſſiſt the* Engliſh.

How ill Succeſs ſoever had attended the Negotiation of *Denmark* by the Irreſolution and Unſteadineſs of that Court, Mr. *Coventry* had conducted what had been committed to him with very good Effect in *Sweden*. And after He had diſpoſed that Court (where He had rendered himſelf extremely acceptable) to a juſt Eſteem of the King's Friendſhip, and an equal Averſion to the *Hollander*, and concluded ſuch Articles as were for the preſent and joint Convenience and Benefit of Both Nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a

ſtricter

ſtricter and nearer Alliance, and to that Purpoſe to ſend Ambaſſadours into *England*, where They had an Agent; He returned to give his Majeſty an Account and Information of the Conſtitution and Temper of that Court, and of the Nature and Diſpoſition of the two Ambaſſadours who were to attend his Majeſty, who were choſen before He left *Stockholm*, and reſolved to embark within ten Days: Which They did, and arrived about the Time, or ſoon after, that the City was ſo miſerably deſtroyed by Fire; which was the leſs favourable Conjuncture, not ſo much by the Influence that dreadful Diſtraction and Damage was like to (97) have upon the vigorous carrying on the War, as by the ill Humour which the Parliament ſhortly after appeared to be in, and their manifeſt Obſtinacy againſt the King's Deſires; which was a Temper very different from what They expected to have found, and what They had been informed had poſſeſſed them from the Time of his Majeſty's Return. Nor was this manifeſt Indiſpoſition without ſome unhappy Impreſſion upon the Spirits of the Ambaſſadours, and that Alacrity They brought with them preſently to enter into a Treaty, and Conjunction of Forces againſt the common Enemy.

They ſend Ambaſſadours into England.

IT was manifeſt enough, that the Crown of *Sweden* was weary of the Obligations They had been long bound in to *France*, which had ſuperciliouſly neglected of late to comply with what was on their Part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make Alliances with *Denmark*, and the leſſer neighbour Princes, as thoſe of the Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, to their Diſadvantage, than to conſider that Crown which had been ſo uſeful to them, as if their Friendſhip was ſo conſiderable to them. Nor was this out of a real Diſeſteem of them; but that They might bind them to a faſter Dependance upon them, and that They might not be ſevered from their Intereſt, whatſoever They ſhould declare it to be. And therefore, when it was firſt ſuſpected that They might be inclined to

England, and *Holland* apprehended that They might be induced to make a Conjunction with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, *France* (as hath been touched before) ſent their Ambaſſadour *Pompone* into *Sweden*, with a full Year's Salary of what was in Arrear, much more ſtill remaining due, and to incline that Crown to a Neutrality between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*; in which He found Mr. *Coventry* had prevented him, and though He had not then the Character of Ambaſſadour, He was much better reſpected there than He was. And as They would have joined with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, if He had advanced according to his Pretence, or had not been abſolutely taken off by *France*; ſo, when He was diverted from his Purpoſe, They were the more inclined to make a firm Alliance with *England*, and thereby ſuch a farther Conjunction with other Princes, Proteſtant or Catholick, that might give ſome Check to the impetuous Humour of *France*, which They now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the Banks which belonged to their Neighbours, as They had been formerly of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and for the ſame Reaſon were as deſirous to retire from any Dependance upon or Relation to that Crown, as They had been formerly of its Protection; and were very well prepared to change their Alliance, and, if They might not be Loſers by it, to make a Conjunction with *Germany* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, into which it was reaſonable to be preſumed that the *United Provinces* would be glad to be received upon moderate Conditions, when a Peace ſhould be made with *England*.

And this was the Proſpect that had been preſented to them by Mr. *Coventry*, and upon View of which They now ſent their Ambaſſadours, without being terrified by the Declaration of *France* on the Behalf of the *Dutch*; and with a Reſolution, if They could not perſuade *Holland* to ſeparate from that Conjunction, and make a Peace apart with the King (which They laboured by their Ambaſſadour the Count of *Dhona* to the *States*), to join their Intereſt frankly to that of his Majeſty,

Majeſty, and to run the Hazard and expect the Iſſue and Event of the War.

THE two Ambaſſadours were *Flemming* and *Coyet*, Both Senators in the great Council of *Sweden*, and Men of prime Authority there: The former of the greater Place and Eſteem, being a Nobleman of an ancient and noble Extraction of a Family in *Scotland*, that had lived through many Deſcents in (398) *Sweden* in great Employment and Luſtre; and this Man never diſſembled a particular Devotion to the King, and for that Reaſon principally was deſigned to this Negotiation. The other was not ſo well born or bred, or of ſo cheerful a Complexion, but a more thinking and melancholick Man, more converſant in Books, and more verſed in the Courſe and Forms of Buſineſs; and by his own Virtue and humble Induſtry had from a mean and low Birth, which in thoſe Northern Kingdoms is the higheſt Diſadvantage, by Degrees aſcended to the Degree of a Senator, which is the chiefeſt Qualification; and had gotten his firſt Credit and Reputation by a Negotiation He was intruſted with in *Holland*, and a Treaty well managed by him there; which made him liable in that Court to be much inclined to the *Dutch*, and to have ſome particular Friendſhip with *De Wit*, They having ſtudied together in *Leyden* when They were young; and their Familiarity after was improved to a good Correſpondence in that Negotiation in *Holland*. *The Characters of the Ambaſſadours.*

THIS being well known and commonly ſpoken of there, Mr. *Coventry* endeavoured to prevent his Deſignation to that Employment, by ſpeaking to the Chancellor of that Kingdom, who always received him with open Arms, and gave good Teſtimony of his hearty and paſſionate Deſire of a firm Conjunction between the two Crowns; and, though He was of a *French* Extraction, had a full Jealouſy of the Want of Sincerity and Juſtice of that Nation. When He diſcovered the Apprehenſion Mr. *Coventry* had, He perſuaded him to acquieſce in his Judgment rather than

to credit common Rumour: "That He well knew "Both, and had contributed to the Election of Both, "who were very fit to be joined together in an Em- "ployment of this Nature, the Gaiety and Warmth of "the one ſtanding in Need ſometimes of the Phlegm "of the other, who would yet pay that Reverence to "him that was due to his ſuperiour Quality; and that "He was too good a *Swede* to have Inclinations to the "*Dutch*, how much Converſation ſoever He had with "them. In a Word, He would paſs his Word;" which put an End to all farther Doubts: And it was well enough known, that He had been raiſed by and was a Creature of the Chancellor.

And in Truth, from the Time of their Arrival in *England* He carried himſelf very fairly, and without any viſible Inclination to the *Dutch*, and much leſs to the *French*; and They Both very frankly declared to thoſe of the King's Miniſters with whom They conferred with Intimacy, "that that Crown would gladly "be ſeparated from them, if a good Expedient might "be found to make them no Loſers by it." Yet it is as true, that after They had been ſome Months in *England*, and ſaw in how little Poſture the King was for the carrying on the War, and how far the Parliament was from giving Money, or from any reaſonable Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſires, *Coyet* did not concur with the ſame Warmth in his Dispatches, with *Flemming*, into *Sweden*; but writ apart to the Miniſters there, "that They muſt take new Meaſures, and not "depend upon a Conjunction with *England*, to which, "how well ſoever the King was inclined, He would "not be able to bear the Part They expected, by "Reaſon that He had no Power with the Parliament;" which Letters his Majeſty's Agent then in *Sweden* had a Sight of: Which produced no other Effect there, but a Reſolution, that if They ſaw that either the King was inclined to a Peace, or would be reduced to a Neceſſity to treat, the Ambaſſadours ſhould offer in the Name of their Maſter his Interpoſition, which their Miniſters

Miniſters in *France* and *Holland* ſhould then likewiſe make Proffer of, upon Advertiſement firſt from them, but with a ſecret Aſſurance to the King, "that if a Treaty
(399) "ſhould not take Effect" (which it could hardly be believed it would do), "the Crown of *Sweden* would "firmly unite itſelf to his Majeſty's Intereſt, and en- "gage in the War with him;" which it was evident They were more inclined to, than to a Peace in which *France* might be comprehended. But that which They moſt deſired was, that a Peace might be made with the *Dutch* without comprehending *France*, in which They would willingly enter, which would draw *Spain* and all the Princes of *Germany* to deſire to be admitted for their own Security.

Sweden is deſirous of a ſeparate Treaty with Holland.

THE *Conde* of *Molina* was Ambaſſadour from *Spain*, near the King, a Man rather ſincere than ſubtil, and ſo had the more Need of the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Baron of *Iſola*, who was, under the Title of Envoy from the Emperour, entirely truſted and ſupported (as moſt of the Emperour's Miniſters were) by the King of *Spain*; who being a *Burgundian*, born in thoſe Parts which remain ſubject to *Spain*, had an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and by the Employments He had undergone in *Italy* and other Places, where He had been Ambaſſadour, had made himſelf ſo conſiderable that He was become notoriouſly odious to the *French*, and was a Man of great Experience and very ſubtil Parts. Both thoſe Miniſters did heartily wiſh a Peace between *England* and *Holland*, with the Excluſion of *France*: But if that could not be, They had much rather the War ſhould continue as it was than that *France* ſhould be comprehended in the Peace; for which They had ſome Reaſon. For at this Time the King of *Spain* died, which They had too many Reaſons to believe would put an End to the Quiet of *Flanders*; and therefore would be glad that They might have the Aſſiſtance of *England* for their Defence, and in which *Holland* could not think itſelf unconcerned. The Probability of this, and the conſtant Intelli-

The ſame endeavoured by the Spaniſh *and* Imperial *Ambaſſadours.*

gence They received from the *Hague*, "that there "were already Jealouſies grown up between the *French* "and the *Dutch*," perſuaded them, and They endeavoured to perſuade the King, "that *Holland* might be "now induced to treat by themſelves; or if They "could not do that, but muſt proceed jointly with "*France*, They would upon Aſſurance of the King's "Affection ſever themſelves from them, if They inſiſted upon any Thing that was not for the joint "Benefit of all." The King left them to do what They thought fit towards it, without undertaking any Thing on his Part until their fair Intentions were diſcerned, and then to aſſure them of his Majeſty's Inclinations to Peace upon juſt and honourable Conditions.

Holland and France jealous of each other.

THERE is no Doubt, there was a real Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction between *France* and *Holland* at this Time. The *Dutch* complained, "that the *French* had broken "their Promiſe with them no leſs this Year than They "had done the laſt: They had indeed declared and "proclaimed a War, but They had done no Acts of "Hoſtility; and whereas They were engaged that "their Fleet ſhould have joined with theirs in the "Month of *May*, They had never been in View but "at a great Diſtance, and ſuffered the *Dutch* to fight "ſo many Days together without any Help from "them. And upon their renewed Promiſe, They had "again carried out their Fleet to meet with them in "*Auguſt*; when They failed again, and left them expoſed to the whole *Engliſh* Fleet: So that They were "compelled with ſome Loſs to get again into their "Harbours." And now They had a real Apprehenſion, that They might treat with *England* apart, and leave them to ſupport the War at Sea by themſelves, whilſt They purſued their Expedition againſt *Flanders* upon the Death of the King of *Spain*.

ON the other Side, *France* as much complained of the Proceedings of the *Dutch*: "That after They had "received a great Sum of Money from them, without "which They could not have ſet out their Fleet, (which

"They

"They no more cared for a Conjunction with their "Ships, nor went to that Length at Sea which They "were bound to to join with them; which They "might have done, if They had continued their "Courſe when They put to Sea in the Beginning of "*June*. Inſtead of which They went over to the Coaſt "of *England* to find the *Engliſh*, confeſſing thereby, "that They had no Need of the Aſſiſtance of the "*French* Ships; but leaving them to ſhift for them-"ſelves. And afterwards, in the End of *Auguſt*, They "came not to the Place They had promiſed to have "done; by Reaſon of which Neglect and Breach of "Faith, if a ſingular Act of Providence had not pre-"vented it, their whole Fleet had fallen into the "Hands of the *Engliſh*, as ſome Part of it did." But that which made them likewiſe willing that this War ſhould be at an End was, that now, the King of *Spain* being dead, They might enter upon a War with *Spain*; towards which They prepared *Manifeſtos* to publiſh upon the Matter of their Right, and already prepared Levies of Men, of which They could pretend no other Uſe: Yet They profeſſed to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to have no ſuch Deſign in their Purpoſes. However They would not enter upon any Treaty apart without the *Dutch:* Nor would *De Wit*, who entirely governed the Councils of *Holland*, be induced to conſent to any Overtures made to ſeparate, before or in the Treaty, from *France*; but gave Information of whatſoever was propoſed by the Baron of *Iſola*, or the *Spaniard* or any other Perſon, to that Purpoſe, and enlarged upon that Information more than was true, to endear his own Punctuality.

The Queen Mother endeavours to bring about a Peace with France.

THE Mother of the King was then at *Paris*, having choſen rather to reſide there than in *England*, ſince She ſaw the Reſolution of a War between them, and deſired Nothing more than to be an Inſtrument in the compoſing thoſe Differences, which She thought were not good for either of the Crowns; and found now another Style in that Court than it had uſed to diſcourſe in, and, from

from the Time of the News of the Death of the King of *Spain*, that the *French* King had ſpoken as if He wiſhed a Peace with *England:* Whereupon about the Time when the Parliament was prorogued, the Earl of *St. Albans* came to *London*, as to look to the Queen's Affairs, of which He was the great Intendant. He informed the King "of the good Temper the *French* "Court was in, and that He was confident, if his Ma- "jeſty would make any Advance towards a Peace, the "Queen would be able to diſpoſe that King to hearken "to it, and to be a Mediator between *England* and "*Holland*; and either to draw them to conſent to what "was juſt, or to ſeparate from them: And He "thought it very reaſonable, that the Conditions "ſhould be referred to the King of *France*, who He "was ſure, upon ſuch a Truſt, would be very careful "of the King's Honour and Intereſt." He profeſſed "to have no Authority for any Thing He propoſed, "from the *French* King or any of his Miniſters, but "from the Queen's Conjectures and his own Obſerva- "tion: And if the King would give him a Commiſ- "ſion, He would preſently return, and would not be "known to have any Powers, till He ſhould find ſuch "a Conjuncture to own it, as that the Peace ſhould "be concluded before there ſhould be any Diſcourſe of "a Treaty (which He knew the *French* moſt deſired) "leſt *Spain* might interpoſe to perplex or delay it." And therefore He propoſed, "that He might carry "Inſtructions with him, upon what Conditions the "King would be willing that a Peace ſhould be eſta- "bliſhed." His Majeſty was reſolved never to make the *French* King Arbitrator of the Conditions of the Peace, nor that it ſhould be treated at *Paris*; and moſt of all, that the Earl of *St. Albans* ſhould not have any Power to treat, "who," the King always uſed to ſay, "was more a *French* than an *Engliſh* Man:" And He likewiſe reſolved, "that no Overture ſhould be made "towards Peace in his Name."

She ſends the Earl of St. Albans *into* England *for that Purpoſe.*

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WHILST this was in Suſpenſe, the Earl received Letters from *Paris*, in which He was adviſed "to re-

"turn thither with Power to treat, and with Informa-
"tion what Conditions the King expected; for that
"his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty had ſo prepared the *Dutch*,
"that He ſhould have preſent Power to treat and con-
"clude; and ſo all Things might be ſettled before
"the Formality of a Treaty ſhould be entered into or
"heard of." This did not alter the King's Reſolution againſt authorizing the Earl to treat, or making *Paris* the Place of the Treaty. But becauſe the Letters were written by *Monſieur Ruvigny*, who was a Perſon well known to the King, and of whom He had a good Opinion, and whom He well knew to be too wary a Man to write in that Manner without having good Authority to do ſo; his Majeſty was contented "that
"the Earl ſhould make Haſte to *Paris*; and if He
"found by *Ruvigny* that what They propoſed was really
"deſired, He ſhould undertake to know that the King
"was very well inclined to Peace, and that himſelf
"would willingly confer with any Body He would
"carry him to; and whatſoever ſhould be propoſed,
"He would with all poſſible Expedition tranſmit it to
"the King:" With this farther Direction, "that if
"He were ſatisfied that their Intentions were real,
"which the Alterations in their own Affairs made pro-
"bable, He ſhould endeavour by the Queen or *Ru-*
"*vigny*, to diſcover whether it would not be poſſible
"to perſuade that King to treat apart and exclude
"*Holland*; and if it appeared to him that was not to
"be hoped, that at leaſt his Majeſty would think it
"reaſonable, that the *Dutch* ſhould reſtore whatſoever
"Fort or other Place They had taken upon the Coaſt
"of *Guinea*, and likewiſe pay a good Sum of Money
"to the King towards the Charge of the War."

THE Earl of *St. Albans* had no Mind to return with no larger a Commiſſion, and pretended to know "that
"this was not the Way to advance a Treaty, and that
"He could as well write what the King directed, and
"know again by Letter what They thought of it; and
"therefore He would ſtay and diſpatch the Buſineſs
"which

"which the Queen ſent him about, before He would "return." But when He ſaw the King was contented He ſhould ſtay; rather than have Nothing to do in the Treaty, He choſe to be at the Beginning of it, and thought He ſhould not be afterwards left out; and ſo offered the King to depart without farther Delay.

THE King had from the Beginning informed the Chancellor of all that the Earl had ſaid to him from his Arrival: And when He had received thoſe Letters from *Ruvigny*, He ſent him to ſhew them to him; and himſelf came preſently whilſt the Earl was there, and directed him to prepare the Inſtructions for him, which the Earl likewiſe deſired He might do. The Chancellor very well knew, that his Credit with the King was much leſſened, and that of the Lord *Arlington* much increaſed, who did not like that He ſhould meddle in the Affairs proper to his Office: Beſides He had no Mind to be intruſted in the Tranſactions with *France*, of whoſe Want of Faith He had too much Experience; which would neither be grateful to the Queen Mother nor to the Earl. And therefore He very earneſtly beſought the King, "that, it being the "Lord *Arlington's* Province, all thoſe Diſpatches might "paſs through his Hands." The King ſaid, "that "He knew the Lord *Arlington* deſired his Help, "and that He ſhould prepare all thoſe Diſpatches," which He required him to do: And the Earl of *St. Albans* ſeemed very much to deſire, "that not "only his Inſtructions might be prepared by him, "but that He might always receive his Majeſty's Plea-"ſure ſignified by him, upon any material Point that "ſhould ariſe;" which the King promiſed him He ſhould do. Upon which the other, who durſt not decline thoſe Commands He was ſo unwilling to obey, humbly deſired his Majeſty, "that the whole Matter "might be firſt communicated to that Committee of "the Council, with which He conſulted his moſt ſe-"cret Affairs; and that the Earl of *St. Albans* might "be preſent at the Debate; and that whatever He "ſhould

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"ſhould be appointed to put into Writing might be "peruſed at that Board, and if it required his Majeſty's "Signature, it ſhould be preſented to him by the Se- "cretary:" All which his Majeſty conſented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the Earl departed for *France*.

He returns into France *to negotiate a Peace.*

IT is very true, there was yet no viſible Alteration in the King's Confidence towards the Chancellor with Reference to his Buſineſs, in which his Majeſty had no Reſerve, and ſpent as much Time with him, and vouchſafed as often to go to his Houſe, as He had ever uſed to do. But when He offered to ſpeak to him of other Matters, as He could not forbear to do, which He thought concerned him more than his moſt publick Tranſactions; He found his Countenance preſently ſhut, no Attention, and no Anſwer, or ſuch a one as ſhewed He was not pleaſed: And He took all Occaſions to make others ſee, that He was adviſed only by him in what immediately related to his Buſineſs, and not more in that than by other Men.

WHEN the Earl came to *Paris*, He found the *French* leſs upon their Guard than He expected: And the King himſelf frankly expreſſed himſelf "to wiſh an End "of this War, and that He might be poſſeſſed of the "King's Friendſhip, which He valued exceedingly;" and referred to *Monſieur Lionne*, "who" his Majeſty ſaid "was prepared to ſpeak to him." *Monſieur De Lionne* kept himſelf within Generals, "of the Benefit "that *England* would receive by a Peace, which made "his *Chriſtian* Majeſty deſire to promote it, and never "more to depart from his Friendſhip. That He was "obliged in Honour now not to quit the *Dutch*, "having entered into a Treaty with them when He "had no Imagination that there would be a War be- "tween them and *England*; that He had been often "ſorry for it, and had given them juſt Occaſion to "complain, *that He forbore longer than He ought to have* "*done to give them Help:* And therefore He could not "now leave them to themſelves, except They were "obſtinate,

"obſtinate, and refuſed to make Peace upon juſt Con-
"ditions; and then He would renounce them." But when He found that the Earl had no Power, and that He talked of Money to be given for the Charge of the War, and expected to have particular Overtures to ſend to the King; He brake off the Diſcourſe till He could confer with his Maſter.

WITHIN two or three Days *Monſieur De Lionne* viſited the Earl, and told him, "that if any Thing "were to be done towards a Peace, there muſt be no "Time loſt: It was yet in the Power of the moſt "*Chriſtian* King to bring it to paſs upon juſt and "honourable Terms; but He knew not how long it "would continue in his Power; for He confeſſed the "*Dutch* took themſelves to be ſo much behindhand, "that They had no Mind to Peace, believing They "had now Advantage. That it was never heard of, "that after a War between two Nations, upon the "making Peace, either Side conſented to pay the "Charge of the War: Therefore any Expectation of "that, or but Mention of it, would ſhut the Door "againſt any Treaty." He gave two Papers to him to ſend to the King, Both under his own Hand, which his Majeſty had the Choice of, and which the *Dutch* would conſent to; "but if that ſhould be required, (403)
"the Treaty was at an End before it was begun, and "the Sword muſt determine it."

Overtures made by France.

ONE of the Papers contained an Equivalent, of which his Majeſty might make his Choice; whether "all Things ſhould continue in the State and Poſture "in which they were at preſent, either Side enjoying "what They had got and ſuſtaining what They had "loſt, and ſo all Things to remain as they were before "the War;" or, "that a true and juſt Computation "ſhould be made of the Loſſes on Both Sides, and "They who were found to have received moſt Da-"mage ſhould be repaired at the Charge of the other." The other Paper was, "that if his Majeſty approved "of either of theſe Expedients, He ſhould himſelf "make

"make Choice of the Place where the Treaty ſhould "be, whither all Parties ſhould ſend their Ambaſſa-"dours:" But then the *French* King deſired, "that his "Majeſty would not make Choice of any Place in the "King of *Spain's* Dominions;" and the *Dutch* Ambaſſa-dour there had nominated *Cologne* or *Francfort* or *Hamburgh*. And the Earl of *St. Albans* immediately ſent away an Expreſs with thoſe two Papers to the King, upon Receipt whereof the Council were ſummoned.

THERE was no Hope of Money, which ſome, not reaſonably, had expected ſhould be paid whenever a Peace ſhould be made; and it had been mentioned in *Holland* as a Thing They expected ſhould be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the Diſpatch of whatſoever ſhould be agreed concerned the King very much, that the *Dutch* might not put to Sea, nor diſcover that the King had no Fleet to ſet out; for the Spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little Difficulty in the Choice of the Equivalent, for the *Engliſh* had taken much more from the *Dutch* than They had taken from *England*; and the other Computation would be endleſs, and liable to very difficult Examinations: So that by an unanimous Advice the King reſolved to chooſe the firſt Equivalent. *Which the King approves.*

BUT then the Place for the Treaty was not ſo eaſy to be choſen. The moſt natural had been *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp*, or ſome other large City in *Flanders*, which were all neutral Places, and to which all Parties might repair with the ſame Eaſe and Security. Whereas all the Places mentioned in *Germany* were at ſo great a Diſtance, that the Summer would be far entered into, and ſo, many Acts of Hoſtility paſs, before the Ambaſſadours could meet; and the *Engliſh* muſt paſs through the Enemy's Country thither: Therefore there could be no Thought of any of thoſe Places. Then the King of *France* had taken upon him to exclude *Flanders*, which He had no Power to do, and it was as deſirable to the *Dutch* as to the King: And there- *Difficulties about ſettling the Place for the Treaty.*

therefore it was thought reaſonable, that the King ſhould inſiſt upon ſome good Town there, of which there was Choice enough; and if *Holland* ſhould approve it *France* could not reject it. But on the other Hand it was clearly diſcerned, that *France* would never ſend Ambaſſadours into a Country which He meant at the ſame Time to invade; and that his Majeſty knew very well to be the Intention, and the Ground of that King's deſiring the Peace, which it was plain enough the *Dutch* did not deſire, and were only drawn to conſent to a Treaty by the poſitive Demand of *France*, which They durſt not contradict: And therefore it concerned the King to preſerve that good Diſpoſition, and that the *French* Ambaſſadours might come fully inſtructed to concur with the *Engliſh* in what ſhould be juſt, and prevent any inſolent Carriage of the *Dutch*, or the *Dane*, who was likewiſe to have his Ambaſſadours upon the Place.

Upon thoſe Reaſons the Expreſs returned with his Majeſty's Conſent and Election of the firſt Equivalent, and "that as ſoon as He ſhould know that the *Dutch* "had conſented to it, his Majeſty would propoſe ſome "equal Place for the Treaty." And as ſoon as the Expreſs was diſpatched, his Majeſty entered upon the Debate of a fit Place for the Treaty; and ſaid, "that "He had a Propoſition then made to him by Sir *William Coventry*, that was of ſuch a Nature as much "ſurpriſed him, as He believed it would the Lords; "yet He had not thought enough to diſlike or con-"demn it:" And ſo bade the other to propoſe it. He, with ſome ſhort Apology which He did not uſe to make, ſaid, "that He perceived there would be little "leſs Difficulty in agreeing upon a Place for the "Treaty than upon any Doubts which might ariſe in "it; for if the King of *France* was to be gratified in "the Excluſion of *Flanders*, it would be very incon-"venient to oblige the King to ſend into *Germany*, "which by the great Delay would deprive the King of "the greateſt Benefit He expected from the Treaty;

"the

"the ſpeedy Diſpatch whereof would be attended "with the greateſt Conveniences: Therefore He had "propoſed to the King, *that He would immediately* "*write to the* States-General *without acquainting* "France *with it, and offer to ſend his Ambaſſadours to* "*treat the Peace at the* Hague, *that it might be ſpeedily* "*concluded, which would otherwiſe take up much Time* "*in ſending for any Reſolution to the* States *upon what* "*ſhould ariſe. If They conſented to it, it would probably* "*be attended with Succeſs, the general Affection of the* "*People being well known to deſire Peace: And if They* "*refuſed it, the World would conclude that They would* "*have no Peace, when They would not treat about it;* "*and that his Majeſty would never have done them the* "*Honour to have ſent his Ambaſſadours Home to them,* "*if He had intended to deny any Thing that was reaſon-* "*able to them.*"

IT was very new, and thought of by Nobody but the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, who had communicated it together; and the Objection of the Condeſcenſion that it would ſeem to moſt Men, as if the King ſent to beg a Peace at their own Doors, was obvious to all Men: And that would have been an Objection againſt admitting it to have been at *Paris*. But the *States* not being upon any Level that pretended to an Equality, the probable Convenience or Benefit that might attend it was only to be conſidered; and the Affection and Deſire of the People generally to Peace was ſo notorious, that there was Reaſon to believe that They would not be willing that a Treaty begun amongſt them ſhould end but with Effect: And therefore it was unanimouſly agreed, that the Advice ſhould be purſued. But then it was a new Doubt, how the Meſſage or Overture or Letter, for the Form was not yet thought of, ſhould be conveyed; for the ſending a Trumpet or Expreſs had much more of Application than the Thing itſelf: And it was to be wiſhed, that it might be gone out of the King's Hands before the Anſwer could come from

from *Paris*, leſt new Inſtance ſhould be made for a particular Place.

IT was at laſt reſolved, that the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours (both *France* and *Holland* having accepted the Mediation of that Crown) ſhould be conſulted with, to engage their Miniſter at the *Hague* to deliver it to the *States General*; for there was ſome Apprehenſion, that if *De Wit* knew of it, it might be conſidered only by that Committee which was deputed for that Affair, and never be brought to the *States*: And the adjuſting all that was commended to the Chancellor, who preſently ſent for the Ambaſſadours, and found them very ready to perform any Office which might bring them upon the Stage in the Treaty. And upon Com-(49) munication together, They were willing to ſend a Servant of their own to the *Hague*, who ſhould deliver to their Ambaſſadour the King's Meſſage to the *States General*, as an Effect of their Mediation and Credit with the King. And ſo it was delivered, not in the Form of a Letter, but of a Meſſage of a third Perſon to the *States General*, ſigned by the King and under the Signet; and the Ambaſſadours ſent a Gentleman in Poſt with it.

The Dutch *refuſe to reſtore* Poleroone *according to the Overtures.*

BUT within two Days a new Alarm comes from *France*; and all that was done proved to be to no Purpoſe. When They received the King's Anſwer, They could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as They could expect; and *Monſieur De Lionne* ſhewed it as ſuch to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour, who finding that He was ſatisfied with it, and by him, that the King was ſo too, fell into much Paſſion, and declared "that it was not according to the Conſent He had "given to the King and to *Monſieur De Lionne*; and "that He muſt proteſt againſt any Treaty to be en-"tered into upon this Declaration." He put him then in Mind, "that He had informed the King, in "his Preſence, *that there was an Article in the late* "*Treaty between* England *and* Holland, *by which They* "*were obliged to deliver up the Iſland of* Poleroone *in*

"*the*

"*the* East-Indies *to the* East-India *Company of* London, "*which They had formerly consented to with* Cromwell, "*but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were re-* "*solved rather to continue the War than to part with it*; "which He had declared, when with Reference to "all other Things He consented to the Alternative: "And if the King would not release that Article of "the former Treaty, his Masters would not enter "upon any new."

WHETHER this was true or no cannot be known. But *Monsieur De Lionne* came in great Disorder to the Lord of *St. Albans*, and told him all that the Ambassadour had said, and confessed it "to be very true, "and that the King remembered it well, and pro- "mised that Article should be released: But that He, "not clearly understanding the Delivery of it to be "contained in a former Treaty, and knowing it had "been many Years in the Possession of the *Dutch*, and "that it still remained so, thought it had been com- "prehended in the Alternative, and forgat to insert "it in the Paper that was sent to the King, for which "He asked a thousand Pardons; and made it his Suit "to the King that He would yield to it, and that a "Treaty that was so necessary to the Good of *Christen-* "*dom* might not be extinguished upon his Negligence "and Want of Memory;" which was a strange Ex- cuse for a Minister of his known Sagacity.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* refused to transmit any such Tergiversation to the King, and said, "He knew the "King would never consent to it; and that this Man- "ner of Proceeding, after that his Majesty had con- "sented to what themselves proposed, would shut "out all future Confidence of their Sincerity." *Mon- sieur De Lionne* was exceedingly troubled and out of Countenance, as a Man conscious to himself of a great Oversight, and desired him, "that He would meet "the *Dutch* Ambassadour at his Lodging, that They "might together endeavour to remove him from the "Obstinacy He professed;" which the Earl was con-

tented to do, and the Ambaſſadour, how unwillingly ſoever, was prevailed with to meet at the Time appointed: But They were no ſooner met, and *Monſieur De Lionne* entered upon the Argument of *Poleroone*, but the Ambaſſadour fell into a rude Paſſion, and ſaid, "the War ſhould determine it." And when the Earl of *St. Albans* began to ſpeak of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Demand, and entered upon the foul Manner in which They had firſt taken that Iſland from the *Engliſh*, who were in Poſſeſſion of it; He told him, (406) "that He had Nothing to ſay to him," and uſed much other Language unfit for the other to hear, and which He had returned with Intereſt, if *Monſieur De Lionne* had not interpoſed, and been very deſirous the Conference ſhould end, the Ambaſſadour's Inſolence being not to be endured: And ſo They parted, *Lionne* ſeeming very much offended; and He complained to the King, and the Earl gave the Account of all to his Majeſty.

The *French* King was no leſs ſurpriſed and offended when He heard what Meſſage the King had ſent to the *States* (which He was advertiſed of by an Expreſs from *Holland*), than *De Wit* had been at the Delivery of it, who preſently knew the Drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the *States*, "that the Deſign was "only to ſtir up the People againſt the Magiſtrates, "and indeed to make them the Judges of the Con-"ditions of the Peace:" And He knew well that the People generally were no Friends to the *Eaſt-India* Company (where himſelf had a great Stock), and therefore would never conſent that a Treaty entered into ſhould break only upon their Intereſt; which likewiſe was the Reaſon, why They had provided that that Particular ſhould be firſt conſented to, before any Treaty ſhould be agreed upon. And hereupon He prevailed upon the *States General* forthwith to declare in the Negative, "that the Treaty ſhould not "be at the *Hague*." But at the ſame Time, after the naming again of *Cologne* and *Francfort*, They added,

"that

"that if the King desired to do them the Honour to "appoint it in any Place of their Dominions, which "They did not presume to propose; They should "consent that it might be at *Breda*, or *Maestricht*," or a Place or two that They named: And this was resolved before the People heard that the King had named the *Hague*, and wondered and murmured at their Refusal.

THE King of *France* took it ill, that at a Time when He proceeded with so much Openness, and had given the first Rise to a Treaty, and opened the Door which the *Hollander* peevishly shut against it, by his own offering the Alternative, which the King had so far approved as to make his Election; He should at the same Time, without communicating it to him, send his Overture to the *Hague:* Which troubled him the more, that it gave him Matter of Jealousy to apprehend, that there was some other underhand Treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the Baron of *Isola*, who He knew had been privately at the *Hague* and had Conference with *De Wit*. And the same Imagination did more perplex the Queen Mother and the Earl of *St. Albans*, who looked upon this as a Device to exclude them from having any Share in the Peace; the Earl having digested the Conclusion in his own Breast, that in what Place soever the Treaty should be held, He should without Doubt be intrusted in the Managery of it. However the King could not own his Part of the Dislike, since his Majesty might without any Violation of Friendship make the Overture by Message to the *Hague*, as well as to or by him: Therefore He seemed to take no Exception to it, and only sent the King Word, "that He believed "the *Dutch* would quickly discern, that this Condescension in his Majesty proceeded from some Expectation of a Party amongst the People to second "it; and therefore He was confident They would "never consent to treat at the *Hague*." But He proposed, "as the best Way for Expedition, that it might

"be at *Dover*," which He adviſed his Majeſty not to reject: "For if it were once begun there, it might "poſſibly, and He would further it all He could, "quickly be removed to *Canterbury*, and probably "might be concluded in *London*."

BUT before this Meſſage arrived, the other new Demand of *Poleroone*, with *Monſieur De Lionne's* Acknowledgement of the Defect of his Memory, and that He ought to have inſerted it in the Paper that contained the Alternative, with all the Excuſes He made for it, was received; which ſeemed to put an End to all Hopes of Peace. The King was highly incenſed, and looked upon it as an Affront contrived by Both Parties to amuſe him. Every Body concluded, that there could be no Safety in depending upon any Thing that could be offered from *France*, when They could never be without as reaſonable a Pretence as They had at preſent, to diſclaim or avoid any Conceſſion They had made in Writing. That the Particular demanded could never be conſented to by his Majeſty, without ſwerving from the common Rules of Juſtice, and the Violation of his own Honour. That though it did not immediately concern his Majeſty in his own Intereſt and the Intereſt of the Crown, which was an Argument uſed in *France* for his Majeſty's not inſiſting upon it, it was however an unqueſtionable and a very conſiderable Intereſt of his Subjects, which He was in Juſtice bound to maintain, and which in Juſtice He had no Power to releaſe. It was an Intereſt ſo valuable, that *Cromwell* had inſiſted upon it ſo reſolutely, that They had conſented to it as a principal Article of the Peace He made with them; by which He gained great Reputation with the People. And his Majeſty had thought himſelf ſo much concerned in Honour not to ſuffer his Subjects to be deprived of that Right which *Cromwell* had vindicated (though by his Death it came not to be executed), that He would never conſent to the Treaty that had been concluded ſince his happy Return, until They conſented

The King highly offended.

to

to and renewed the ſame Article, and promiſed the Redelivery of the ſaid Iſland to the *Engliſh* by ſuch a Day: And their having broken their Faith in not delivering it according to the laſt Treaty, and with very offenſive Circumſtances, his Majeſty had declared to be a principal Cauſe of the War, and made them unqueſtionably to appear the firſt Aggreſſor. And in that Reſpect, his Honour could not receive a more mortal Wound than in releaſing that Article, which concerned the Eſtates of other Men, and would in the Opinion of the World draw the Guilt of the War upon himſelf, or, which would be as bad, the Reproach of having purchaſed a Peace upon very diſhonourable Conditions to himſelf, at the Charge and with the Eſtates of his Subjects.

And reſolves to continue the War.

UPON the Whole, the King reſolved rather to undergo the Hazard of the War upon what Diſadvantage ſoever, than to conſent to a Propoſition ſo diſhonourable: And a Diſpatch was preſently ſent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, with a very lively Reſentment "of the "Indignity offered to the King, in receding from "what was offered by themſelves, and in aſking what "He was reſolved never to grant." And all were enjoined to renew all that had been reſolved for the War, and to give the utmoſt Advancement to it that was poſſible: And without Doubt, if *Spain* had yet put itſelf into any Poſture to defend itſelf againſt the Power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any Part towards the Support of a common Intereſt; the King would hardly have been perſuaded to have hearkened more to any Propoſitions from *France*.

New Overtures from France.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, new Overtures and new Importunities were ſent from *France*. "It was "true, that the *Dutch* had always proteſted againſt "making a Peace or conſenting to a Treaty without "the Releaſe of *Poleroone*; which his *Chriſtian* Ma-"jeſty had conſented to, and could not recede from "it without their Conſent, though the Mention of it "had been unfortunately omitted by *Monſieur De*

"*Lionne*: But his Majeſty promiſed and engaged "his Royal Word, that when the Treaty ſhould be "entered into, He would uſe all his Credit and Au- "thority to perſuade the *States General* to recede from "their Obſtinacy, and to make no Alteration in the "laſt Treaty; but that all Things ſhould remain as "had been ſettled by it. And if He could not pre- "vail with them to ſatisfy him therein, as He did "fear that there was upon their particular Intereſt "ſome peremptory Reſolution fixed, from whence "They would not be removed as to the Main; yet "in that Caſe He did in no Degree deſpair of ob- "liging them to give a conſiderable Sum of Money "for Recompenſe thereof, which He deſired might "ſatisfy the King, who would find himſelf at much "Eaſe by it. And if the Commiſſioners once met "and the Treaty was begun, it would not be diſ- "ſolved before a Peace ſhould be concluded; and "that the *French* Ambaſſadours, as ſoon as They "met, ſhould propoſe a Ceſſation from all Acts of "Hoſtility, which He expected ſhould be as ſoon "yielded to as propoſed; and that already They had "promiſed *that their Fleet ſhould remain in their Har- "bours till the Middle of* May, before which Time the "Treaty might well begin." And from the preſent Time the *French* King promiſed, "that no hoſtile "Act ſhould be done by him, and that his own Fleet "ſhould not ſtir out of their Port; and that his Am- "baſſadours ſhould in all Things behave themſelves "as his Majeſty could wiſh, that Particular only of "*Poleroone* excepted, in which They ſhould do as "He had promiſed."

The King had by this Time had Recourſe to all the Inventions and Devices, which might yet enable him to ſet out a Fleet that might be able to fight the Enemy; but in vain. He found all Men of the ſame Opinion They had been, that He muſt be upon the Defenſive in the Manner expreſſed before, and expect the End of the Summer before He could draw his

Ships

Ships together; and that there was an univerſal Impatience for Peace: So that when the Warmth of his Indignation was a little remitted, He was very willing to hear any Thing that might revive the Hope of a Treaty, when this laſt Overture from *Paris* arrived; upon which He preſently convened the Council, that He might take a ſpeedy Reſolution what He was to do, for He ſaw many Conveniences might be loſt by the not ſpeedily entering upon the Treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The Proteſtation and Promiſe of *France* to aſſiſt in all Things, that Particular only excepted, for his Majeſty's Service, and his Promiſe even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: The Hope of Recompenſe for it ſeemed little inferiour to the Redelivery of the Iſland, and was an equal Satisfaction to his Majeſty's Honour. And it ſeemed the more probable to be compaſſed, in that *De Wit* in his private Conference with the Baron of *Iſola*, in all his Paſſion in which He would not endure the Mention of the Delivery of *Poleroone*, and ſaid "that the *States* would periſh "before They would part with it," concluded, "that "He would not ſay that They might not be perſuad-"ed to give ſome Recompenſe for it."

AND many believed that the *Eaſt-India* Company, which was only concerned in the Intereſt of it, would chooſe rather to receive a good Recompenſe than the Iſland itſelf, which was a barren, ſandy Soil, which yielded no Fruit, but only Nutmegs, which was the ſole Commodity it bore, and is a Commodity of great Value. But when They were bound to give it up to *Cromwell*, there had been immediate Order ſent to cut down all the Trees upon the Iſland; which Order would be now again repeated: And ſo no leſs than ſeven Years muſt expire before any Fruit could be expected from thence. And it was ſo far from any *Engliſh* Factory, and ſo near to the *Dutch*, that They would eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it again when They had a Mind to it. And therefore if the Company might

might have Money, or ſuch a Quantity of Nutmegs delivered to them, as might, beſides being enough for the Expenſe of *England*, bear a Part in the foreign Trade (which had been mentioned by ſome Merchants of that Company), it might be reaſonably preferable to the Iſland.

WHATSOEVER Reſolution ſhould in the End be taken, this Expedient of Recompenſe gave a Hint to a Counſel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the Buſineſs of *Poleroone* to the ſole Managery of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſhould be adviſed to chooſe ſome Members of their own, who ſhould go over with the Ambaſſadours, and receive all Advice and Aſſiſtance from them in the Conduct of their Pretences: And They would be the Witneſſes of what the King inſiſted upon on their Behalf; and would likewiſe judge, if Nothing prevented the Peace but that Intereſt, how far it ſhould be inſiſted upon.

The Eaſt-India *Company conſulted in Relation to* Poleroone.

THE *Eaſt-India* Company was ſent for, and were told "that the King had Hope of a Treaty for Peace, "which He preſumed would be welcome to them: "He heard that the greateſt Difficulty and Obſtruc- "tion that was like to ariſe would be concerning their "Intereſt in the Iſland of *Poleroone*, which He was re- "ſolved never to abandon. But becauſe He heard "likewiſe that the *Dutch* did intend to offer a Recom- "penſe rather than to reſtore the Place, and that the "Recompenſe might be ſuch as might be as agreeable "to them (of which He would not take upon him to "judge, but leave it entirely to themſelves), He had "given them this timely Notice of it, that They might "bethink themſelves what was fit for them to do, up- "on a Proſpect of all that might probably occur; "and that They might make Choice of ſuch Perſons "amongſt themſelves, who beſt underſtood their Af- "fairs, to the End that when the Treaty ſhould be "agreed upon and the Place appointed, and his Ma- "jeſty had reſolved what Ambaſſadours He would "ſend (of all which They ſhould have ſeaſonable No- "tice),

"tice), thoſe Perſons elected by them as their Com-
"miſſioners might go over with the Ambaſſadours;
"that when that Point came into Debate, and the
"*Dutch* ſhould call ſome of their *Eaſt-India* Company
"to inform them, They likewiſe might be ready to
"advertiſe his Ambaſſadours of whatſoever might ad-
"vance their Pretences: And if a Recompenſe was to
"be conſidered, They might enter into that Conſulta-
"tion with the other Deputies; and that They ſhould
"be ſure to receive all the Advice and Aſſiſtance from
"his Ambaſſadours, that They could require or ſtand
"in Need of." The Company received this Information from his Majeſty with all Demonſtration of Duty and Submiſſion, giving humble Thanks for his Majeſty's Bounty and Care of their Intereſt; and ſaid, "They would not fail to make Choice of a Commit-
"tee to attend the Ambaſſadours, when They ſhould
"know it would be ſeaſonable."

The King conſults the Privy Council upon the Overtures made by France.

THE King thought it now Time to receive the Advice of his whole Council-Board upon this Affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the Committee for foreign Affairs: And ſo They being aſſembled, an Account was given of all that was paſſed, with all its Circumſtances, in *France*, and in *Holland* by the Baron of *Iſola* and by the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours. And his Majeſty ſaid thereupon, "that He had yet taken no
"Reſolution, and had been ſo provoked by the Miſ-
"carriage of *France*, that He would have been glad
"to have put himſelf into a better Poſture, and not
"thought farther of a Treaty, till there ſhould appear
"a more favourable Conjuncture: But They now un-
"derſtood as much as He did with Reference to the
"State He was in both at Home and abroad, and that
"He was reſolved to follow their Advice."

Which adviſes him to enter upon the Treaty.

ALL the Objections which had been foreſeen before, and the Conſiderations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: And in the End there was a general Concurrence, "that his Majeſty ſhould embrace the
"Opportunity of a Treaty; and if a reaſonable Peace
"could

"could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the "whole Kingdom, that was weary of the War; and "that his Majesty should lose no Time in returning "such a Dispatch to *Paris*, as might bring on the "Treaty." And some of the Lords proceeded so far as to declare, "that the Consideration of *Poleroone* was "not of that Importance, nor could be thought so by "the *East-India* Company themselves, as that the in-"sisting upon it should deprive the Kingdom of a "Peace that was so necessary for it." But the King thought the entering upon that Argument was not yet seasonable: But He gave Order for the Dispatch to be prepared for *France*.

THERE were two material Points not yet determined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present Dispatch; which was the Nomination of the Place where the Treaty should be. Some were of Opinion, "that his Majesty should lay Hold of the "Overture that had been made from *France*, which "was since likewise confirmed by *Holland*, *that the* "*Treaty should be at* Dover:" But They changed their Minds, when They well considered that the same Objections would be naturally made against *Dover* on the King's Behalf, that had been made by the *Dutch* against the *Hague*; and that the People there, and less at *Canterbury*, were not incapable of any Impressions, which the numerous Trains of the *French* and the *Dutch* would be ready to imprint in them. In a Word, there was much more fit to be considered upon that Point, than is fit to be remembered. The Conclusion was, "that "*Breda*, which had been offered by the *Dutch*, should "be the Place the King would accept;" which was added to the Dispatch for *Paris*, and presently sent away.

Breda agreed to be the Place of treating.

THE other Matter undetermined of was the Choice of Ambassadours, which had been never entered upon. The King had spoken with the Chancellor, what Persons would be fit to be employed in that Negotiation, when the Time should be ripe for it; and took Notice,

as

as He did frequently, of the ſmall Choice He had of Men well acquainted with Buſineſs of that Nature: Upon which He had named to the King the Lord *Hollis*, who had been lately Ambaſſadour in *France*, and was in all Reſpects equal to any Buſineſs, and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of his Bedchamber, who had ſhewed ſo great Abilities in his late Negotiation in *Sweden*. Upon the naming of whom his Majeſty ſaid, "They "were Both very fit, and that He would think of no "other:" So that when all other Particulars were adjuſted with Reference to the Treaty, the King, without farther conſulting it, declared, "that He intended "to ſend thoſe two his Ambaſſadours for the Treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the Employment. And when his Majeſty told them of it, He bade them repair to the Chancellor for their Inſtructions. And this gave new Thoughts of Heart to the Lord *Arlington*, who had deſigned himſelf and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly made a Privy Counſellor and Controller of the Houſhold upon the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, for the Performance of that Service; and thought himſelf the better qualified for it by his late Alliance in *Holland*, by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Monſieur Beverwaert*, a natural Son of Prince *Maurice*. And this Diſappointment went very near him; though the other had not the leaſt Thought that He had any ſuch Thing in his Heart, but adviſed it purely as They were the fitteſt Perſons who could be thought of; and their Abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this Negotiation.

Lord Hollis *and Mr.* Henry Coventry *appointed Plenipotentiaries.*

THE *Swediſh* Ambaſſadours, who were the only Mediators, prepared likewiſe to go to the Treaty, having agreed with the King, "that if the Treaty ſhould not "produce a Peace," of which They who hoped moſt were not confident, "that Crown would immediate-"ly declare for the King, and unite itſelf to his In-"tereſt both againſt the *Dutch* and the *French*;" their Army at that Time, being held the beſt in *Europe*, under

The Swediſh *Ambaſſadours Mediators.*

under the Command of their General *Wrangel*, being near the *States* Dominions. And for the better confirming them in that Diſpoſition, the Chancellor had brought the Baron of *Iſola* to a Conference with the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours, and begun that Treaty between them which was ſhortly after finiſhed, and known by the Style of the *Triple Alliance*, that was the firſt Act that detached the *Swede* from *France*: And for the preſent the King himſelf found Means to ſupply the Crown of *Sweden* with a Sum of Money for the Support of their Army.

ALL Things being thus adjuſted, and the Place of the Treaty being on all Hands agreed to be *Breda*, and Notice being ſent from *Paris*, "that their Ambaſſa-"dours were departed from thence;" the King thought himſelf as much concerned in the Expedition in Reſpect of the Ceſſation, which the *French* promiſed to obtain in the very Entrance into the Treaty; and it was now the Month of *May*. And ſo his Ambaſſadours were diſpatched, and arrived there before the Middle of that Month, with an Equipage worthy their Maſter who ſent them.

The Death of the Earl of Southampton.

THERE happened at this Time an Accident that made a fatal Breach into the Chancellor's Fortune, with a Gap wide enough to let in all that Ruin which ſoon after was poured upon him. The Earl of *Southampton*, the Treaſurer, with whom He had an entire faſt Friendſhip, and who, when They were together, had Credit enough with the King and at the Board to prevent, at leaſt to defer, any very unreaſonable Reſolution, was now ready to expire with the Stone; a Diſeaſe that had kept him in great Pain many Months, and for which He had ſent to *Paris* for a Surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the Phyſicians not agreeing what the Diſeaſe was: So that at laſt He grew too weak to apply that Remedy. They who had with ſo much Induſtry, and as They thought Certainty, prevailed with the King at *Oxford* to have removed him from that Office, had never ſince intermitted

mitted in purſuing the Deſign, and perſuaded his Majeſty, "that his Service had ſuffered exceedingly "by his receding from his Purpoſe;" and did not think their Triumph notorious enough, if They ſuffered him to die in the Office: Inſomuch as when He grew ſo weak that it is true He could not ſign any Orders with his Hand, which was four or five Days before his Death, They had again perſuaded the King to ſend for the Staff. But the Chancellor again prevailed with him not to do ſo ungracious an Act to a Servant who had ſerved him and his Father ſo long and ſo eminently, to ſo little Purpoſe as the raviſhing an Office unſeaſonably, which muſt within five or ſix Days fall into his Hands; as it did within leſs Time by his Death.

HE was a Perſon of extraordinary Parts, of Faculties very diſcerning and a Judgment very profound, great Eloquence in his Delivery, without the leaſt Affectation of Words, for He always ſpake beſt on the ſudden. In the Beginning of the Troubles, He was looked upon amongſt thoſe Lords who were leaſt inclined to the Court, and ſo moſt acceptable to the People: He was in Truth not obliged by the Court, and thought himſelf oppreſſed by it, which his great Spirit could not bear; and ſo He had for ſome Years forbore to be much ſeen there, which was imputed to a Habit of Melancholy, to which He was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his Countenance than in his Converſation, which to thoſe with whom He was acquainted was very cheerful. *His Character.*

THE great Friendſhip that had been between their Fathers made many believe, that there was a Confidence between the Earl of *Eſſex* and him; which was true to that Degree as could be between Men of ſo different Natures and Underſtandings. And when They came to the Parliament in the Year 1640, They appeared Both unſatisfied with the Prudence and Politicks of the Court, and were not reſerved in declaring it, when the great Officers were called in Queſtion for great

great Tranſgreſſions in their ſeveral Adminiſtrations: But in the Proſecution there was great Difference in their Paſſions and their Ends. The Earl of *Eſſex* was a great Lover of Juſtice, and could not have been tempted to conſent to the Oppreſſion of an innocent Man: But in the diſcerning the ſeveral Species of Guilt, and in the proportioning the Degrees of Puniſhment to the Degree of Guilt, He had no Faculties or Meaſure of judging; nor was above the Temptation of general Prejudice, and it may be of particular Diſobligations and Reſentments, which proceeded from the Weakneſs of his Judgment, not the Malice of his Nature. The Earl of *Southampton* was not only an exact Obſerver of Juſtice, but ſo clearſighted a Diſcerner of all the Circumſtances which might diſguiſe it, that no falſe or fraudulent Colour could impoſe upon him; and of ſo ſincere and impartial a Judgment, that no Prejudice to the Perſon of any Man made him leſs awake to his Cauſe; but believed that there is *aliquid et in Hoſtem Nefas*, and that a very ill Man might be very unjuſtly dealt with.

This Difference of Faculties divided them quickly in the Progreſs of thoſe Buſineſſes, in the Beginning whereof They were Both of one Mind. They Both thought the Crown had committed great Exceſſes in the Exerciſe of its Power, which the one thought could not be otherwiſe prevented, than by its being deprived of it: The Conſequence whereof the other too well underſtood, and that the abſolute taking away that Power that might do Hurt, would likewiſe take away ſome of that which was neceſſary for the doing Good; and that a Monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental Right, without ſuch a laſting Wound to Monarchy itſelf, that They who have moſt Shelter from it and ſtand neareſt to it, the Nobility, could not continue long in their native Strength, if the Crown received a Maim. Which if the Earl of *Eſſex* had comprehended, who ſet as great a Price upon Nobility as any Man living did, He could never have been wrought upon

upon to have contributed to his own Undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the King were undone. So They were Both ſatisfied that the Earl of *Strafford* had countenanced ſome high Proceedings, which could not be ſupported by any Rules of Juſtice, though the Policy of *Ireland*, and the conſtant Courſe obſerved in the Government of that Kingdom, might have excuſed and juſtified many of the high Proceedings with which He was reproached: And They who had now the Advantage-Ground, by being thought to be moſt ſolicitous for the Liberty of the Subject, and moſt vigilant that the ſame Outrages might not be tranſplanted out of the other Kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the ſtrongeſt Influence upon the Counſels of *England* as well as Governour of *Ireland*. Then He had declared himſelf ſo averſe and irreconcilable to the Sedition and Rebellion of the *Scots*, that
3) the whole Nation had contracted ſo great an Animoſity againſt him, that leſs than his Life could not ſecure them from the Fears They had conceived of him: And this Fury of theirs met with a full Concurrence from thoſe of the *Engliſh*, who could not compaſs their own Ends without their Help. And this Combination too ſoon drew the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had none of their Ends, into their Party, to ſatisfy his Pride and his Paſſion, in removing a Man who ſeemed to have no Regard for him; for the Stories, which were then made of Diſobligations from the Earl of *Strafford* towards the Earl of *Clanrickard*, were without any Foundation of Truth.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who had Nothing of Obligation, and Somewhat of Prejudice to ſome high Acts of Power which had been exerciſed by the Earl of *Strafford*, was not unwilling that they ſhould be ſo far looked into and examined, as might raiſe more Caution and Apprehenſion in Men of great Authority of the Conſequence of ſuch Exceſſes. But when He diſcerned irregular Ways entered into to puniſh thoſe Irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill Conſe-

Conſequences, and that They intended to compound one great Crime out of ſeveral ſmaller Treſpaſſes, and, to uſe their own Style, *to complicate a Treaſon out of Miſdemeanors*, and ſo to take away his Life for what He might be fined and impriſoned; He firſt diſſuaded and then abhorred that Exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when He found it paſſionately and maliciouſly reſolved by a direct Combination.

From this Time He and the Earl of *Eſſex* were perfectly divided and ſeparated, and ſeldom afterwards concurred in the ſame Opinion: But as He worthily and bravely ſtood in the Gap in the Defence of that great Man's Life, ſo He did afterwards oppoſe all thoſe Invaſions, which were every Day made by the Houſe of Commons upon the Rights of the Crown, or the Privileges of the Peers, which the Lords were willing to ſacrifice to the uſeful Humour of the other. And by this Means, whilſt moſt of the King's Servants liſted themſelves with the Conſpirators in promoting all Things which were ingrateful to him, this Lord, who had no Relation to his Service, was looked upon as a Courtier; and by the Strength of his Reaſon gave ſuch a Check to their Proceedings, that He became little leſs odious to them than the Court itſelf; and ſo much the more odious, becauſe as He was ſuperiour to their Temptations, ſo his unqueſtionable Integrity was out of their Reach, and made him contemn their Power as much as their Malice.

He had all the Deteſtation imaginable of the civil War, and diſcerned the diſmal Effects it would produce, more than moſt other Men, which made him do all He could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, He made no Scruple how to diſpoſe of himſelf, but frankly declared for the King, who had a juſt Senſe of the Service He had done him, and made him then both of his Privy Council and Gentleman of his Bedchamber, without the leaſt Application or Deſire of his, and when moſt of thoſe who were under Both thoſe Relations had choſen, as the much ſtronger, the

the Rebels Side: And his receiving thoſe Obligations at that preſent was known to proceed more from his Duty than his Ambition. He had all the Fidelity that God requires, and all the Affection to the Perſon of the King that his Duty ſuggeſted to him was due, without any Reverence for or Compliance with his Infirmities or Weakneſs; which made him many Times uneaſy to the King, eſpecially in all Conſultations towards Peace, in which He was always deſirous that his Majeſty ſhould yield more than He was inclined to do.

(414) HE was in his Nature melancholick, and reſerved in his Converſation, except towards thoſe with whom He was very well acquainted; with whom He was not only cheerful, but upon Occaſion light and pleaſant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch Eaſe to himſelf: Yet as no Man had a quicker Apprehenſion or ſolider Judgment in Buſineſs of all Kinds, ſo, when it had a hopeful Proſpect, no Man could keep his Mind longer bent, and take more Pains in it. In the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was a continued Fatigue of twenty Days, He never ſlept four Hours in a Night, who had never uſed to allow himſelf leſs than ten, and at the End of the Treaty was much more vigorous than in the Beginning; which made the Chancellor to tell the King when They returned to *Oxford*, "that if He would have the Earl of *Southam-*"*pton* in good Health and good Humour, He muſt "give him good Store of Buſineſs to do."

HIS Perſon was of a ſmall Stature; his Courage, as all his other Faculties, very great; having no Sign of Fear or Senſe of Danger, when He was in a Place where He ought to be found. When the King had withdrawn himſelf from *Oxford* in Order to his Eſcape to the *Scotch* Army, and *Fairfax* had brought his Army before the Town; in ſome Debate at the Council-Board, there being ſome Mention of Prince *Rupert* with Reference to his Dignity in a large Degree above all the Nobility, the Earl of *Southampton*, who never uſed to ſpeak indecently, uſed ſome Expreſſions, which,

being unfaithfully reported to the Prince, his Highneſs interpreted to be diſreſpectful towards him: Whereupon He ſent the Lord *Gerard* to expoſtulate with him. To whom the Earl without any Apology related the Words He had uſed; which being reported by him again to the Prince, though they were not the ſame which He had been informed, yet He was not ſo well ſatisfied with them, but that He ſent the ſame Lord to him again to tell him, "that his Highneſs "expected other Satisfaction from him, and expected "to meet him with his Sword in his Hand, and deſired "it might be as ſoon as He could, leſt it might be "prevented."

THE Earl appointed the next Morning, at a Place well known; and being aſked "what Weapon He "choſe," He ſaid, "that He had no Horſe fit for "ſuch a Service, nor knew where ſuddenly to get one; "and that He knew himſelf too weak to cloſe with "the Prince: And therefore He hoped his Highneſs "would excuſe him, if He made Choice of ſuch Wea-"pons as He could beſt uſe; and therefore He re-"ſolved to fight on Foot with a Caſe of Piſtols only;" which the Prince willingly conſented to. And without Doubt They had met the next Morning, the Earl having choſen Sir *George Villiers* for his Second; but that the Lord *Gerard's* coming to the Earl ſo often, with whom He had no Acquaintance, had been ſo much obſerved, that ſome of the Lords who had been preſent at the Debate at the Board, and heard ſome Replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill Offices had been done, watched them Both ſo narrowly, and cauſed the Town-Gates to be ſhut, that They diſcovered enough, notwithſtanding the Denial of Both Parties, to prevent their Meeting; and afterwards interpoſed till a Reconciliation was made: And the Prince ever afterwards had a good Reſpect for the Earl.

AFTER the Murder of the King, the Earl of *Southampton* remained in his own Houſe, without the leaſt Applica-

Application to thoſe Powers which had made themſelves ſo terrible, and which ſeemed to reſolve to root out the whole Party as well as the Royal Family; and would not receive a Civility from any of them: And when *Cromwell* was near his Houſe in the Country, upon the Marriage of his Son in thoſe Parts, and had
(415) a Purpoſe to have made a Viſit to him; upon a private Notice thereof, He immediately removed to another Houſe at a greater Diſtance. He ſent frequently ſome truſty Perſon to the King with ſuch Preſents of Money, as He could receive out of the Fortune They had left to him, which was ſcarce enough to ſupport him in that Retirement: And after the Battle of *Worceſter*, when the Rebels had ſet a Price upon the King's Head, and denounced the moſt terrible Judgment upon any Perſon, and his Poſterity, that ſhould preſume to give any Shelter or Aſſiſtance to *Charles Stuart* towards his Eſcape; He ſent a faithful Servant to all thoſe Perſons, who in Reſpect of their Fidelity and Activity were moſt like to be truſted upon ſuch an Occaſion, that They ſhould advertiſe the King, "that He would "moſt willingly receive him into his Houſe, and pro-"vide a Ship for his Eſcape." And his Majeſty received this Advertiſement from him the Day before He was ready to embark in a ſmall Veſſel prepared for him in *Suſſex*; which his Majeſty always remembered, as a worthy Teſtimony of his Affection and Courage in ſo general a Conſternation. And the Earl was uſed to ſay, "that after that miraculous Eſcape, how diſ-"mal ſoever the Proſpect was, He had ſtill Confi-"dence of his Majeſty's Reſtoration."

HIS own natural Diſpoſition inclined to melancholick; and his Retirement from all Converſation, in which He might have given ſome Vent to his own Thoughts, with the Diſcontinuance of all thoſe bodily Exerciſes and Recreations to which He had been accuſtomed, brought many Diſeaſes upon him, which made his Life leſs pleaſant to him; ſo that from the Time of the King's Return, between the Gout and the

Stone, He underwent great Affliction. Yet upon the happy Return of his Majeſty He ſeemed to recover great Vigour of Mind, and undertook the Charge of High Treaſurer with much Alacrity and Induſtry, as long as He had any Hope to get a Revenue ſettled proportionable to the Expenſe of the Crown (towards which his Intereſt and Authority and Counſel contributed very much), or to reduce the Expenſe of the Court within the Limits of the Revenue. But when He diſcerned that the laſt did and would ſtill make the former impoſſible (upon which He made as frequent and lively Repreſentations as He thought himſelf obliged to do), and when He ſaw Irregularities and Exceeſſes to abound, and to overflow all the Banks which ſhould reſtrain them; He grew more diſpirited, and weary of that Province, which expoſed him to the Reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which ſupplied him not with Authority to prevent them. And He had then withdrawn from the Burden, which He infinitely deſired to be eaſed of, but out of Conſcience of his Duty to the King, who He knew would ſuffer in it; and that the People who knew his Affections very well, and already opened their Mouths wide againſt the Licenſe of the Court, would believe it worſe and incurable if He quitted the Station He was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him ſtill to undergo that Burden, even when He knew that They who enjoyed the Benefit of it were as weary that He ſhould be diſquieted with it.

He was a Man of great and exemplary Virtue and Piety, and very regular in his Devotions; yet was not generally believed by the Biſhops to have an Affection keen enough for the Government of the Church, becauſe He was willing and deſirous, that Somewhat more might have been done to gratify the *Preſbyterians* than They thought juſt. But the Truth is He had a perfect Deteſtation of all the Preſbyterian Principles, nor had ever had any Converſation with their Perſons, having during all thoſe wicked Times ſtrictly obſerved the

the Devotions preſcribed by the Church of *England*; in the Performance whereof He had always an ortho-
(416) dox Chaplain, one of thoſe deprived of their Eſtates by that Government, which diſpoſed of the Church as well as of the State. But it is very true, that upon the Obſervation of the great Power and Authority which the *Preſbyterians* uſurped and were poſſeſſed of, even when *Cromwell* did all He could to diveſt them of it, and applied all his Intereſt to oppreſs or ſuppreſs them, inſomuch as They did often give a Check to and divert many of his Deſigns; He did believe that their Numbers and their Credit had been much greater than in Truth they were. And then ſome Perſons, who had Credit with him by being thought to have an equal Averſion from them, perſuaded him to believe, that They would be ſatisfied with very eaſy Conceſſions, which would bring no Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Church. And this Imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wiſh that there might be ſome Indulgence towards them. But that which had the ſtrongeſt Influence upon him, and which made him leſs apprehenſive of the Venom of any other Sect, was the extreme Jealouſy He had of the Power and Malignity of the *Roman Catholicks*; whoſe Behaviour from the Time of the Suppreſſion of the Regal Power, and more ſcandalouſly at and from the Time of the Murder of the King, had very much irreconciled him towards them: And He did believe, that the King and the Duke of *York* had a better Opinion of their Fidelity, and leſs Jealouſy of their Affections, than They deſerved; and ſo thought there could not be too great an Union of all other Intereſts to control the Exorbitance of that. And upon this Argument, with his private Friends, He was more paſſionate than in any other.

HE had a marvellous Zeal and Affection for the Royal Family; inſomuch as the two Sons of the Duke of *York* Both falling into Diſtempers (of which They Both ſhortly after died) very few Days before his

Death, He was ſo marvellouſly affected with it, that many believed the Trouble of it, or a Preſage what might befall the Kingdom by it, haſtened his Death ſome Hours: And in the Agony of Death, the very Morning He died, He ſent to know how They did; and ſeemed to receive ſome Relief, when the Meſſenger returned with theNews, that They were both alive and in ſome Degree mended.

The King reſolves to put the Treaſury into Commiſſion.

THE next Day after his Death, which was about the End of *May*, the King called the Chancellor into his Cloſet; and the Duke of *York* being only preſent, told him, "that He could think of no Man fit to be "Treaſurer, and therefore reſolved, as He had long "done, to put that Office into Commiſſion;" and then aſked, "who ſhould be Commiſſioners:" To which He anſwered, "the Buſineſs would be much "better done by a ſingle Officer, if He could think "of a fit one; for Commiſſioners never had, never "would do, that Buſineſs well." The Duke of *York* ſaid, "that He believed it would be beſt done by "Commiſſion; it had been ſo managed during all the "ill Times" (for from the Beginning of the Troubles there had been no Treaſurer): "And He had obſerved "(and the King found the Benefit of it), that though "Sir *William Compton* was an extraordinary Perſon, "and better qualified than moſt Men for that Charge, "yet ſince his Deceaſe, that his Majeſty had put the "Office of the Ordnance under the Government of "Commiſſioners, it was in much better Order, and the "King was better ſerved there than He had ever been; "and He believed He would be ſo likewiſe in the "Office of Treaſury, if fit Perſons were choſen for it, "who might have Nothing elſe to do." And the King ſeemed to be of the ſame Mind.

The Chancellor adviſes him againſt it.

THE Chancellor replied, "that He was very ſorry, "that They were Both ſo much delighted with the "Function of Commiſſioners, which were more ſuit-(47)
"able to the modelling a Commonwealth, than for "the Support of Monarchy: That during the late "Troubles,

"Troubles, whilſt the Parliament exerciſed the Go-
"vernment, They reduced it as faſt as They could to
"the Form of a Commonwealth; and then no Queſ-
"tion the putting the Treaſury into the Hands of
"Commiſſioners was much more ſuitable to the reſt
"of the Model, than it could be under a ſingle Perſon.
"Beſides, having no Revenue of their own, but being
"to raiſe one according to their Inventions and pro-
"portionable to their own Occaſions, it could never
"be well collected or ordered by old Officers, who
"were obliged to Forms which would not be agree-
"able to their neceſſary Tranſactions: So that new
"Miniſters were to be made for new Employments,
"who might be obliged punctually to obſerve their
"new Orders, without any Superiority over each
"other, but a joint Obedience to the ſupreme Autho-
"rity. But when *Cromwell* aſſumed the entire Go-
"vernment into his own Hands, He cancelled all thoſe
"Republican Rules and Forms, and appointed infe-
"riour Perſons to ſeveral Functions, and reſerved the
"whole Diſpoſition to himſelf, and was his own High
"Treaſurer: And it was well known that He re-
"ſolved, as ſoon as He ſhould be able to reduce
"Things to the Forms He intended, to cancel all
"thoſe Commiſſions, and inveſt ſingle Perſons in the
"Government of thoſe Provinces."

HE ſaid, "He would not take upon him to ſay any
"Thing of the Office of the Ordnance, where the
"Commiſſioners were his Friends; only He might
"ſay, that that Kind of Adminiſtration had not been
"yet long enough known to have a good Judgment
"made of it: However, that it was of ſo different a
"Nature from the Office of the Treaſury, that no
"Obſervation of the one could be applied to the other.
"The Ordnance was converſant only with Smiths and
"Carpenters, and other Artificers and Handicraftſ-
"men, with whom all their Tranſactions were:
"Whereas the Treaſury had much to do with the No-
"bility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom; muſt have
"often

" often Recourſe to the King himſelf for his particular " Directions, to the Privy Council for their Aſſiſtance " and Advice, to the Judges for their Reſolutions in " Matters of Difficulty; and if the Miniſters of it " were not of that Quality and Degree, that They " might have free Recourſe to all thoſe, and find Re- " ſpect from them, his Majeſty's Service would noto- " riouſly ſuffer. And that the White Staff itſelf, in " the Hands of a Perſon eſteemed, did more to the " bringing in ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, by the " Obedience and Reverence all Officers paid to it, " than any Orders from Commiſſioners could do: " And that how mean an Opinion ſoever ſome Men " had of the Faculties of the late excellent Officer for " that Adminiſtration, his Majeſty would find by Ex- " perience, that the vaſt Sums of Money, which He " had borrowed in theſe late Years, had been in a great " Meaſure procured upon the general Confidence all " Men had in the Honour and Juſtice of the Trea- " ſurer; and that the Credit of Commiſſioners would " never be able to ſupply ſuch Neceſſities."

The King ſaid, " He was not at all of his Opinion, " and doubted not his Buſineſs would be much better " done by Commiſſioners; and therefore He ſhould " ſpeak to the Nomination of thoſe, ſince He was ſure " He could propoſe no ſingle Perſon fit for it." To which the Chancellor anſwered, " that He thought it " much harder to find a worthy Man, who would be " perſuaded to accept it in the Diſorder in which his " Affairs were, than a Man who might be very fit for " it: And that if that Subject who had the greateſt " Fortune in *England* and the moſt general Reputa- " tion would receive it, his Majeſty would be no " Loſer in conferring it on ſuch a one; and till ſuch " a one might be found, He might put it into Com- " miſſion. But," He ſaid, " He perceived well, that " He would not approve the old Courſe in the Choice " of Commiſſioners; who had always been the Keeper " of the Great Seal, and the two Secretaries of State,

" and

"and two other of the principal Perſons of the Coun-
"cil, beſides the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who
"uſed to be the ſole Perſon of the *Quorum*."

NEITHER the King nor the Duke ſeemed to like any of thoſe; and the Chancellor plainly diſcerned from the Beginning that They were reſolved upon the Perſons, though his Opinion was aſked: And the King ſaid, "He would chooſe ſuch Perſons, whether Privy Coun-
"ſellors or not, who might have Nothing elſe to do,
"and were rough and illnatured Men, not to be moved
"with Civilities or Importunities in the Payment of
"Money; but would apply it all to his preſent Neceſ-
"ſities, till ſome new Supplies might be gotten for the
"Payment of thoſe Debts, which were firſt neceſſary
"to be paid. That He, the Chancellor, had ſo much
"Buſineſs already upon his Hands, that He could not
"attend this other; and the Secretaries had enough
"to do: So He would have none of thoſe." And then He named Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly of the Council and Controller of the Houſe, and Sir *William Coventry*; and ſaid, "He did not think there
"ſhould be many:" And the Duke then named Sir *John Duncombe*, as a Man of whom He had heard well, and every Body knew He was intimate with Sir *William Coventry*. The King ſaid, "He thought They three
"would be enough, and that a greater Number would
"but make the Diſpatch of all Buſineſs the more
"ſlow."

THE Chancellor ſaid, "He doubted thoſe Per-
"ſons would not have Credit and Authority enough
"to go through the neceſſary Affairs of that Pro-
"vince; that for his own Part, He was not deſirous to
"meddle in it; He had indeed too much Buſineſs to
"do: That He had no Objection to the three Perſons
"named, but that He thought them not known and
"eſteemed enough for that Employment; and that it
"would be very incongruous to bring Sir *John Dun-
"combe*, who was a private Country Gentleman, and
"utterly unacquainted with Buſineſs of that Nature,

to

"to ſit in equal Authority with Privy Counſellors, and "in Affairs which would be often debated at the "Council-Table, where He could not be preſent." And He put his Majeſty in Mind, "that He muſt "put the Lord *Aſhley* out of his Office of Chancellor "of the Exchequer, if He did not make him Com- "miſſioner of the Treaſury, and of the *Quorum*:" And concluded, "that if He did not name the Gene- "ral, and ſome other Perſon that might give ſome "Luſtre to the others, the Work would not be done "as it ought to be; for many Perſons would be ſome- "times obliged to attend upon the Treaſury, who "would not think thoſe Gentlemen enough ſuperiour "to them, how qualified ſoever."

THE King ſaid, "He could eaſily provide againſt "the Exception to Sir *John Duncombe*, by making him "a Privy Counſellor; and He did not care if He "added the General to them." The Lord *Aſhley* gave him ſome Trouble, and He ſaid enough to make it manifeſt that He thought him not fit to be amongſt them: Yet He knew not how to put him out of his Place; but gave Direction for preparing the Commiſſion for the Treaſury to the Perſons named before, and made the Lord *Aſhley* only one of the Commiſſioners, and a major Part to make a *Quorum*; which would quickly bring the Government of the whole Buſineſs into the Hands of thoſe three who were deſigned for it. And *Aſhley* rather choſe to be degraded, than to diſpute it.

Commiſſioners of the Treaſury appointed.

THE King expected, that as ſoon as the Ambaſſadours ſhould meet at the *Hague*, a Ceſſation would be the firſt Thing that would be agreed upon: And the *French* Ambaſſadours did in the firſt Place propoſe it, and in ſuch a Manner, as made it evident that They depended upon it as a Thing reſolved upon; and their Maſter had with their Conſent diſmiſſed his own Fleet, and theirs was yet in their Ports. Nor did the *Dutch* ſeem to refuſe it; but anſwered, "that the adjuſting all "Things in Order to a Ceſſation would require as much "Time

Negotiations at Breda.

"Time as would ſerve to finiſh the Treaty, conſider- "ing all material Points were upon the Matter already "ſtated and agreed upon, the King having already "choſen the Alternative:" And notwithſtanding all the Earneſtneſs uſed by the *French* Ambaſſadours, no other Anſwer could be obtained as to a Ceſſation; which, together with the ſupercilious Behaviour of the Commiſſioners from *Holland*, made it apparent, that They had no other Mind at that Time to Peace, than as They were compelled to it by *France*, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any Mention for the Redelivery of *Poleroone*, "which," They ſaid, "the King of *France* had promiſed ſhould "not be demanded;" and as little for any Recompenſe in Money; nor would ſuffer the Merchant-Deputies from the *Engliſh* Company to go to *Amſterdam*, to confer with the *Eaſt-India* Company there for any Compoſition. It quickly appeared, that They had Revenge in their Hearts for their laſt Year's Affront and Damage at the *Flie*; and *De Wit* had often ſaid, "that before any Peace They would leave ſome ſuch "Mark of their having been upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, "as the *Engliſh* had left of their having been upon that "of *Holland*."

The Dutch *defer agreeing to a Ceſſation.*

AFTER the Treaty was entered into, about the Beginning of *June De Ruyter* came with the Fleet out of the *Wierings*, and joining with the reſt from the *Texel* ſailed for the Coaſt of *England*: And having a fair Wind ſtood for the River of *Thames*; which put the County of *Kent* into ſuch an Alarm, that all near the Sea left their Houſes and fled into the Country. The Earl of *Winchelſea*, who was Lord Lieutenant of that County, was at that Time Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, and the Deputy-Lieutenants had all equal Authority: So that no Man had Power to command in that large County in ſo general a Diſtraction. Hereupon the King ſent down Lieutenant General *Middleton* with Commiſſion to draw all the Trainbands together, and to command all the Forces that could be

The Attempts of the Dutch *upon* Sheerneſs *and* Chatham.

be raiſed: And He immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the Trainbands of Horſe and Foot to *Rocheſter*; and other Troops reſorted to him from the neighbour Counties, all the People expreſſing a great Alacrity in being commanded by him.

THERE had been enough Diſcourſe all that Year of erecting a Fort at *Sheerneſs* for the Defence of the River: And the King had made two Journies thither in the Winter, and had given ſuch Orders to the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance for the overſeeing and finiſhing the Fortifications, that every Body believed that Work done; it having been the principal Defence and Proviſion directed and depended upon (as hath been ſaid before), when the Reſolution had been taken for the ſtanding only upon the Defence for this Summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a Company or two of very good Soldiers there under excellent Officers; but the Fortifications were ſo weak and unfiniſhed, and all other Proviſions ſo entirely wanting, that the *Dutch* Fleet no ſooner approached within a Diſtance, but with their Cannon They beat all the Works flat, and drove all the Men from the Ground: Which as ſoon as They had done, with their Boats They landed Men, and ſeemed reſolved to fortify and keep it.

THIS put the Country into a Flame, and the News of it exceedingly diſturbed the King. He knew the Conſequence of the Place, and how eaſily it might have been ſecured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected: And with what Loſs ſoever, it muſt be preſently recovered out of thoſe Hands. The General was immediately ordered to march to *Chatham*, for the Security of the Navy, with ſuch Troops of Horſe and Foot as could be preſently drawn together out of the Guards, and from the neighbour Counties; and the City appeared very forward to ſend ſuch Regiments of their Trainbands as ſhould be required. When the General came to *Chatham*, He found *Middleton*

dleton in ſo good a Poſture, and ſo good a Body of Men, that He had no Apprehenſion of any Attempt the *Dutch* could make at Land; and He writ very cheerful and confident Letters to the King and the Duke, "that if the Enemy ſhould make any Attempt, "which He believed They durſt not do, They would "repent it. That He had put a Chain over the "River, which would hinder them from coming up: "And if They ſhould adventure to land any where, "He would quickly beat them to their Ships;" as no Doubt He had been very well able to have done.

THERE was indeed no Danger of their landing, and They were too wiſe to think of it: Their Buſineſs was in an Element They had more Confidence in and more Power upon. They had good Intelligence how looſely all Things were left in the River: And therefore as ſoon as the Tide came to help them, They ſtood full up the River, without any Conſideration of the Chain, which their Ships immediately brake in Pieces, and paſſed without the leaſt Pauſe; there being either no ſuch Device to be made that can obſtruct ſuch an Enterpriſe, or that which was made was ſo weak, that it was of no Signification, but to raiſe an unſeaſonable Confidence in unſkilful Men, that being diſappointed muſt increaſe the Confuſion, as it did. For all Men were ſo confounded to ſee the *Dutch* Fleet advance over the Chain, which They looked upon as a Wall of Braſs, that They knew not what They were to do.

THE General was of a Conſtitution and Temper ſo void of Fear, that there could appear no Signs of Diſtraction in him, Yet it was plain enough that He knew not what Orders to give. There were two or three Ships of the Royal Navy negligently, if not treacherouſly, left in the River, which might have been very eaſily drawn into Safety, and could be of no imaginable Uſe in the Place where they then were: Into one of thoſe the General put himſelf, and invited the

the young Gentlemen who were Volunteers to accompany him; which They readily did in great Numbers, only with Pikes in their Hands. But ſome of his Friends whiſpered to him, "how unadviſed that Re-"ſolution was, and how deſperate, without Poſſibility "of Succeſs, the whole Fleet of the Enemy approach-"ing as faſt as the Tide would enable them." And ſo He was prevailed with to put himſelf again on Shore: Which except He had done, both himſelf and two or three hundred Gentlemen of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the Kingdom had inevitably periſhed; for all thoſe Ships, and ſome Merchant-Men laden and ready to put to Sea, were preſently in a Flame; the *Dutch*, knowing that They could not carry them off, giving Order to burn them, the General ſtanding upon the Shore, and not knowing what Remedy to apply to all this Miſchief. The People of *Chatham*, which is naturally an Army of Seamen and Officers of the Navy, who might and ought to have ſecured all thoſe Ships, which They had Time enough to have done, were in Diſtraction; their chief Officers having applied all thoſe Boats and lighter Veſſels which ſhould have towed up the Ships, to carry away their own Goods and Houſholdſtuff, and given what They left behind for loſt. And without Doubt, if the *Dutch* had proſecuted the preſent Advantage They had, with that Circumſpection and Courage that was neceſſary, They might have fired the Royal Navy a *Chatham*, and taken or deſtroyed all the Ships which lay higher in the River, and ſo fully revenged themſelves for what They had ſuffered at the *Flie:* But They thought They had done enough, and ſo made Uſe of the Ebb to carry them back again.

Great Conſternation in the City and Court.

But the Noiſe of this, and the Flame of the Ships which were burned, made it eaſily believed in the City of *London*, that the Enemy had done all that They conceived They might have done: They thought that They were landed in many Places, and that their Fleet was come up as far as *Greenwich*. Nor was the Confuſion

fuſion there greater than it was in the Court itſelf: Where They who had moſt advanced the War, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be againſt it, "as Men who had no publick Spirits, and "were not ſolicitous for the Honour and Glory of the "Nation;" and who had never ſpoken of the *Dutch* but with Scorn and Contempt, as a Nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the moſt dejected Men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at thoſe who had adviſed the King to enter into that War, "which had already conſumed "ſo many gallant Men, and would probably ruin the "Kingdom," and wiſhed "that a Peace, as the only "Hope, were made upon any Terms." In a Word, the Diſtraction and Conſternation was ſo great in Court and City, as if the *Dutch* had not been only Maſters of the River, but had really landed an Army of one hundred thouſand Men.

THEY who remember that Conjuncture, and were then preſent in the Galleries and privy Lodgings at *Whitehall*, whither all the World flocked with equal Liberty, can eaſily call to Mind many Inſtances of ſuch wild Deſpair and even ridiculous Apprehenſions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the leaſt Mention of them ſhould remain: And if the King's and Duke's perſonal Compoſure had not reſtrained Men from expreſſing their Fears, there wanted not ſome who would have adviſed them to have left the City. And there was a Lord, who would be thought one of the greateſt Soldiers in *Europe*, to whom the Cuſtody of the *Tower* was committed, who lodging there only one Night, declared "that it was not te-"nable," and deſired not to be charged with it: And thereupon many, who had carried their Money and Goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be farther from the River. Nor did this unreaſonable Diſtemper paſs away, when it was known that the *Dutch* Fleet had not only left the River, but had taken away all their Men from *Sheerneſs*, which

was

was a Manifeſtation very ſufficient that They had no Deſign upon the Land: But there remained ſtill ſuch a Chagrin in the Minds of many, as if They would return again; in which They were confirmed, when They heard that They were ſtill upon the Coaſts, and gave the ſame Alarm now to *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, as They had done to *Kent*, not without making a Shew as if They meant to attempt *Harwich* and *Languard Point*; which drew all the Trainbands of thoſe Counties to the Seaſide, and the Duke of *York* went thither to conduct them, if there ſhould be Occaſion.

The King adviſed to convene the Parliament during the Prorogation.

In this Perplexity the King was not at Eaſe, and the leſs that every Man took upon him to diſcourſe to him of the Diſtemper of the People generally over the Kingdom, and to give him Counſel what was to be done: And ſome Men had adviſed him to call the Parliament, which at the laſt Seſſion had been prorogued to the twentieth of *October*; and it was now the Middle of *June*. And ſurely moſt diſcerning Men thought ſuch a Conjuncture ſo unſeaſonable for the Council of a Parliament, that if it had been then ſitting, the moſt wholeſome Advice that could be given would be to ſeparate them, till that Occaſion ſhould be over, which could be beſt provided for by a more contracted Council: However not knowing elſe what to do diſpoſed the King to incline to that Remedy. And it being a current Opinion, or rather an unqueſtioned Certainty, that upon a Prorogation a Parliament cannot be convened before the Day, though upon an Adjournment it may; They had brought Mr. *Prynne* privately to the King to ſatisfy him, "that "upon an extraordinary Occaſion He might do it:" And his Judgment, which in all other Caſes He did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what He had a Mind to.

Ser. ante, 1685.

In the Beginning of the Summer, when He had reſolved to have no Fleet at Sea, there were many Reaſons which induced him to increaſe his Forces at Land. And that He might do it without Jealouſy of the

the People, He gave Commiſſion to three or four Perſons of the Nobility, of great Fortunes and good Names, to raiſe Regiments of Foot, and to others for Troops of Horſe; which was done at their own Charge, and with wonderful Expedition: And upon their firſt Muſters They all received one Month's Pay. Of theſe Levies ſome were ſent to repoſſeſs *Sheerneſs*, and extraordinary Care was taken for the better Advancement of thoſe Fortifications; and others were diſpoſed to other Poſts upon the Coaſt: But it was in View, that upon the Expiration of that Month, there muſt be new Pay provided for thoſe Regiments and Troops. Then the Trainbands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one Month, which was as long as the Law required: And now They required, or were ſaid to require, to be relieved or diſmiſſed, or that They might receive Pay. There were Diſcontents and Emulations upon Command; and They who had uſually profeſſed, "that They would willingly ſerve "the King in the Offices of Corporals or Serjeants, "whatever Command They formerly had," now diſputed all the Punctilios, and would not receive Orders from any who had been formerly in inferiour Offices. And all theſe Waywardneſſes were brought to the King, as Matters of the higheſt Conſequence, who found Difficulty enough in determining Points of more Importance.

THEY who for their own private Deſigns deſired that the Parliament might meet, and cared not in what Humour They met, urged the King very importunately, "that He would iſſue out a Proclamation to "ſummon them, as the only Expedient to give him-"ſelf Eaſe, and to provide for all that was to be "done:" And his Majeſty was moſt inclined to it, and in Truth reſolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the Senſe of many, He reſolved to debate it at the Council. And there He told them, "that They "all ſaw the Streights that He was in, the Inſolence "of the Enemy, and the general Diſtemper of the

The Privy Council conſulted about the reaſſembling the Parliament.

"Nation, which made it manifeſt that it was neceſſary "for him to have an Army, that might be ready "againſt any Thing that might fall out. That He had "no Money, nor knew where to get any; nor could "imagine any other Way to provide againſt the Miſ- "chiefs which were in View, than by calling the Par- "liament to come together, of which or any other "Expedient He was willing to receive their Advice;" expreſſing ſo much of his own Senſe, that it was plain enough that He thought that Remedy the beſt that could be applied. Three or four of thoſe who ſate at the lower End of the Board, and who were well enough known to have given the Counſel, and to be induſtrious that it might be followed, enlarged themſelves in the Debate, "that the Soldiers could not be kept to- (41) "gether without Money; and They could not adviſe "any other Way to get Money but by the convening "the Parliament, which They were confident might "juſtly and regularly be done:" And they deſired, "that They who were of another Opinion would pro- "poſe ſome other Way how the King might get "Money."

The Chancellor diſcerned that the Matter was already concluded, what Advice ſoever ſhould be given; and that the three new Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſince They could find no Way to procure Money, had been very importunate with the King to try that Expedient, and the more, becauſe They well knew that He was againſt it, He having not been at all reſerved upon ſeveral Occaſions in private Diſcourſes, when They were preſent, to give many Reaſons againſt it: And He knew as well, that They would gladly make any Uſe of any Expreſſions which might fall from him, when the Remembrance might be applied to his Prejudice. Yet his natural Unwarineſs in ſuch Caſes with Reference to himſelf, when He thought his Majeſty's Service concerned, to which He did really believe the preſent Advice would produce much Prejudice, prevailed with him to diſſuade it.

HE ſaid, "He knew well upon what Diſadvantage "He ſpake, and how unpopular a Thing it was to "ſpeak againſt the convening the Parliament in thoſe "Streights, which ſeemed to be capable of no other "Remedy: Yet ſince He thought the Remedy nei- "ther proper to the Diſeaſe, nor that it could be ap- "plied in Time, He could not concur with thoſe who "adviſed it. That moſt Men who had any Knowledge "in the Law did confeſs, that when the Parliament "ſtood prorogued to a certain Day, the convening "them upon a ſooner Day was very doubtful; and to "him, upon all the Diſquiſition He could make, it "was very clear that it could not be done: And there- "fore He deſired the Judges might be conſulted in "that Point, before any Reſolution ſhould be taken. "That the Temper of Both Houſes was well known; "and that it could not but be preſumed, that when "They came together, the firſt Debate They would "fall upon would be of the Manner of their coming "together, and whether They were in a Capacity to "act: And He doubted there would be very few who "would be forward to paſs an Act in a Seaſon, when "the Validity of it might be queſtioned by thoſe who "had no Mind to pay any Obedience to it. And then "if their Meeting were only to confer together upon "all Occurrences, and They might preſume of Li- "berty to ſay what They had a Mind to ſay, with- "out Power to conclude any Thing; it was well "worth the conſidering, whether, in ſo general a Diſ- "temper, ſuch an Aſſembly might not interrupt all "other Conſultations and Expedients, and yet pro- "poſe none, and ſo increaſe the Confuſion. If the "Neceſſities were ſo urgent, that it was abſolutely ne- "ceſſary that a Parliament ſhould be convened, and "that which ſtood prorogued could not lawfully re- "aſſemble till the twentieth of *October*, as He was "confident it could not; there was no Queſtion to "be made, but that the King might lawfully by his "Proclamation preſently diſſolve the prorogued Par- "liament,

The Chancellor oppoſes it.

"liament, and ſend out his Writs to have a new Par-
"liament, which might regularly meet a Month be-
"fore the prorogued Parliament could come together."
And many of the Council were of Opinion, that it would moſt conduce to his Majeſty's Service to diſſolve the one, and to call another Parliament.

THIS was an Advice They believed no Man had the Courage to make, and were ſorry to find ſo many of the Opinion, which They had rather ſhould have appeared to be ſingle. Many very warmly oppoſed this Expedient, magnified the Affections and Inclina- (424)
tions of Both Houſes: "And though there appeared
"ſome ill Humour in them at their laſt being toge-
"ther, and Averſion to give any Money for the pre-
"ſent; yet in the Main their Affections were very
"right for Church and State. And that the King was
"never to hope to ſee a Parliament better conſtituted
"for his Service, or ſo many of the Members at his
"Diſpoſal: But that He muſt expect that the *Preſby-*
"*terians* would be choſen in all Places, and that They
"who were moſt eminent now for oppoſing all that
"He deſired would be choſen, and all They who were
"moſt zealous for his Service would be carefully ex-
"cluded;" which was a Fancy that ſunk very deep in the Minds of the Biſhops, though their beſt Friends thought them like to find more Friends and a ſtronger Support in any, than They would have in that Parliament. But the King quickly declared his Confidence in the Parliament that was prorogued, and his Reſolution not to diſſolve it; which put an End to that Debate. And the other was again reſumed, "what
"the King was to do towards the raiſing Money; or
"how He ſhould be able to maintain his Army, if He
"ſhould defer calling the Parliament till the Day upon
"which They were to aſſemble by the Prorogation:"
And all Men were to reſtrain their Diſcourſe to that Point.

THE old Argument, "that there could be no other
"Way found out," was renewed, and urged with more

more Earneſtneſs and Confidence; and that They who were againſt it might be obliged to offer their Advice what other Courſe ſhould be taken: And this was often demanded, in a Manner not uſual in that Place, as a Reproach to the Perſons. His Majeſty himſelf with ſome Quickneſs was pleaſed to aſk the Chancellor, "what He did adviſe." To which He replied, "that if in Truth what was propoſed was in "the Nature of it not practicable, or being practiſed "could not attain the Effect propoſed, it ought to be "laid aſide, that Men might unbiaſſed apply their "Thoughts to find out ſome other Expedient. That He "thought it very clear that the Parliament could not "aſſemble, though the Proclamation ſhould iſſue out "that very Hour, within leſs than twenty Days; and "that if They were met, and believed themſelves law-"fully qualified to grant a Supply of Money, all Men "knew the Formality of that Tranſaction would re-"quire ſo much Time, that Money could not be "raiſed Time enough to raiſe an Army, or to main-"tain that Part of it that was raiſed, to prevent the "landing of an Enemy that was already upon the "Coaſt, and (as many thought or ſeemed to think) "ready every Day to make their Deſcent: And yet "the ſending out a Proclamation for reaſſembling the "Parliament would inevitably put an End to all other "Counſels. That for his Part He did believe, that "the *Dutch* had already ſatisfied themſelves in the "Affront They had given, and could not be in any "Condition to purſue it, or have Men enough on "Board to make a Deſcent, without the King's having "Notice of it; and that the *Dutch*, without a Con-"junction with the *French*, had not Strength for ſuch "an Undertaking: And that the *French* had no ſuch "Purpoſe his Majeſty had all the Aſſurance poſſible, "and that their Fleet was gone far from the Coaſt of "*England*. And his Majeſty had Reaſon to believe, "that the preſent Treaty would put an End to this

"War in a ſhort Time, though the Power and Arti-
"fice of *De Wit* had prevented a Ceſſation."

"HOWEVER, for the preſent Support of thoſe
"Troops which were neceſſary to guard the Coaſts,
"ſince Money could not be found for their preſent con-
"ſtant Pay, without which free Quarter could not be
"avoided; the only Way that appeared to him to be
"practicable, and to avoid the laſt Evil, would be,
"to write Letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy- (425)
"Lieutenants of thoſe Counties where the Troops
"were obliged to remain, *that They would cauſe Provi-*
"ſions of all Kinds to be brought into thoſe Quarters, that
"ſo the Soldiers might not be compelled to ſtraggle
"abroad to provide their own Victual, which would
"end in the worſt Kind of free Quarter: And that the
"like Letters might be written to the neighbour
"Counties, wherein no Soldiers were quartered, to
"raiſe Money by Way of Contribution or Loan,
"which ſhould be abated out of the next Impoſi-
"tions, that ſo the Troops might be enabled to ſtay
"and continue in the Poſts where They were, for
"Defence of the Kingdom; in which thoſe other
"Counties had their Share in the Benefit, and with-
"out which They muſt themſelves be expoſed to the
"Diſorder of the Soldiers, and poſſibly to the Inva-
"ſion of the Enemy."

IT is very probable, that in the Earneſtneſs of this Debate, and the frequent Interruptions which were given, He might uſe that Expreſſion (which was afterwards objected againſt him) "of raiſing Contribution "as had been in the late civil War." Whatever it was He ſaid, it was evident at the Time that ſome Men were well pleaſed with it, as Somewhat They meant to make Uſe of hereafter, in which his Innocence made him little concerned.

The Parliament ſummoned to meet.

THE Concluſion was, though many of the Lords ſpake againſt it, and much the major Part thought it not counſellable; that a Proclamation ſhould forthwith iſſue out, to require all the Members of Parliament to meet

meet upon a Day appointed in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, to conſult upon the great Affairs of the Kingdom: And this Proclamation was preſently iſſued accordingly.

ALL this Time the Treaty proceeded at *Breda*, as faſt as the inſolent Humour of the *Dutch* would ſuffer it. The *French* King declared himſelf much offended with their Proceedings at Sea: And his Ambaſſadours ſpake ſo loud, that the *States* gave Order to their Deputies to bring the Treaty to a Concluſion; and ſent ſuch Orders to *De Ruyter*, that there was no more Hoſtility of any Moment; only the Fleet remained at Sea, that it might appear They were Maſters of it. It cannot be denied that the *French* Ambaſſadours, except in what referred to *Poleroone*, behaved themſelves as candidly as could be wiſhed: And it is probable, that the ſame Reaſon which moved the *French* to uſe all poſſible Diligence to bring the Treaty to an End, prevailed likewiſe with the *Dutch* to uſe all the Delays They could, that it might be prolonged. *The Treaty advanced.*

THOUGH there was no War declared, it had been long notorious that *Flanders* would be invaded: And it was as notorious, that there was no Proviſion made there towards a Reſiſtance or Defence; the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo*, who came Governour thither with a great Reputation, not making good the Expectation in the Sagacity He was famed for, nor offering at any Levies of Men, or mending Fortifications, until the *French* Army was upon the Borders. Then He ſent into *England* to preſs the King to aſſiſt him with an Army of Horſe and Foot; and it eaſily appeared the Nation would gladly have engaged in that War, not being willing that *Flanders* ſhould be in the Poſſeſſion of *France*: But the King was engaged not to give any Aſſiſtance to the Enemies of *France* until the Treaty ſhould be ended, which yet it was not. However He ſuffered the Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, under Pretence of recruiting a Regiment in *Flanders* which He had formerly,

merly, to raiſe a Body of one thouſand Foot, which He quickly tranſported to *Oſtend*.

THE King of *France* was impatient to march, and yet deſired the Treaty might be firſt concluded, that both himſelf and the King of *England* might be at Liberty to enter into ſuch an Alliance as They ſhould think proper for their Intereſt: And the *Dutch*, who had no Mind that the Expedition ſhould be proſe- (418)
cuted, and as much feared the Conſequence of ſuch an Alliance, though They were not wiſe enough to conſider the right Means to prevent it, deſired that the Treaty might not be concluded till the Winter drew nearer. But the *French* quickly put an End to that their Hope by marching into the Heart of *Flanders*, and ſo giving them new Matter for their preſent Conſultations; not without Intimation, "that if They "would not finiſh the Treaty, that King would con- "clude for what concerned himſelf:" And this put an End to it. Yet there were ſome Alterations of ſmall Importance in ſome Articles of the former Treaty, beſides that of *Poleroone*, which the Ambaſſadours would not conſent to without farther Knowledge of the King's Pleaſure: And ſo one of them (Mr. *Henry Coventry*) came to attend his Majeſty to give him an Account of all Particulars, and receive his own final Determination.

The French *invade* Flanders.

THE King in the firſt Place ſent for the *Eaſt-India* Company, and let them know, "that the *Dutch* "would not conſent to the former Article for the Re- "delivery of *Poleroone*, nor give any Recompenſe for "it, and that He was reſolved not to depart from "them, and ſo releaſe their Right without their Con- "ſent: And therefore that They ſhould conſider "what would be for their Good." They anſwered, "that They thought a Peace to be ſo neceſſary for the "Kingdom, that They would not that any particular "Intereſt of theirs ſhould give any Interruption to "it:" And They acknowledged, "that if the War "continued, They ſhould in many Reſpects be greater "Loſers,

The Eaſt-India *Company give up their Claim to* Poleroone.

"Loſers, than the Redelivery of *Poleroone* would re-
"pair; and that They would gladly ſacrifice that
"Pretence to the publick Peace."

UPON which Anſwer the Ambaſſadour made his Report of all the Particulars which were conſented to on Both Sides in the Treaty, and what remained yet in Suſpenſe; and made Anſwer to all Queſtions which any of the Council thought fit to aſk. And the King requiring him to deliver his own Opinion upon his Obſervation, and "whether He believed, that if "his Majeſty ſhould poſitively inſiſt upon what They "had hitherto refuſed to conſent to, the *Dutch* would "chooſe to continue the War; and whether the *French* "would join with them in it:" He anſwered, "that "it was very evident that the *Dutch* did not at preſent "deſire the Peace, otherwiſe than to comply with "*France* and for Fear of it; and that *France* was ob-"liged not to abandon them in the Point of *Pole-*"*roone*, which the other would never part with, nor "give any Recompenſe for, though the *French* Am-"baſſadours had uſed all the Arguments to perſuade "them to it. But if that were agreed, He was con-"fident They would be compelled to conſent to "whatſoever was elſe of Moment. And that the "*French* had uſed ſome threatening Expreſſions, up-"on ſome inſolent Propoſitions made by the *Dane*, "which They thought proceeded from the Inſtiga-"tion of *Holland*. And that at his coming away, the "*French* Ambaſſadours had uſed great Freedom with "him and adviſed *in what Particulars which were yet* "*unagreed They wiſhed his Majeſty would not conſent*, "*and in which They could not ſerve him, but believed a* "*Time would come in which He would be repaired for* "*thoſe Condeſcenſions: In other Particulars He ſhould* "*poſitively inſiſt, at leaſt with ſome little Variation of* "*Expreſſion*; in which He expreſſed both his own "and the Opinion of the other Ambaſſadour."

AND the Whole being in this Manner clearly ſtated, the King required all the Lords ſeverally to deliver their

their Judgment what He was to do; and every Man did deliver his Opinion in more or fewer Words. And it may be truly ſaid, that, though one or two adorned their Paſſion with ſome Expreſſions of Indignation againſt the *Dutch* for their Preſumption, and as if They did believe that the Parliament would concur with the King in all Things which might vindicate his Honour from their inſolent Demands, the Advice was upon the Matter unanimous, "that the Ambaſſadours ſhould immediately return, and conclude the "Peace upon thoſe Conditions which were ſtated at "the Board." And He did preſently return: And all Matters were, within few Days after his Arrival, adjuſted, and put into proper miniſterial Hands for Engroſſment, and all Forms and Circumſtances agreed upon for the Proclamation of the Peace, and the Day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and ſuch Forms of Paſſes as ſhould be given on all Sides to Merchants Ships (which would be impatient for Trade before the Days could be expired), in which all Ships of War ſhould be obliged to take Notice that the Peace was proclaimed.

The Privy Council adviſes the King to conclude the Treaty.

The Peace made.

ALL this was done before the Day of the Parliament's convening upon the King's Proclamation: So that there being now no Uſe of an Army, and Reaſon enough to diſband thoſe Regiments which had been raiſed towards it, his Majeſty thought it not reaſonable that They ſhould enter upon the Debate of any Buſineſs, but be continued under the former Prorogation to the Day appointed; and in this there appeared not one Perſon of a different Opinion. And ſo, upon the Day, the King went to the Houſe, and told them, "that "ſince the Condition of his Affairs was not ſo full of "Difficulty as it had been when He ſent out his Pro-"clamation, and ſince many were of Opinion, that "there might be Doubts ariſe upon the Regularity of "their Meeting; He was content to diſmiſs them till "the twentieth of *October*:" And ſo They ſeparated without any Debate.

The Parliament meets and is immediately prorogued.

THE

THE Publick no ſooner entered into this Repoſe, than the Storm began to ariſe that deſtroyed all the Proſperity, ruined the Fortune, and ſhipwrecked all the Hopes of the Chancellor, who had been the principal Inſtrument in the providing that Repoſe. The Parliament, that had been ſo unſeaſonably called together from their Buſineſs and Recreations, in a Seaſon of the Year that They moſt deſired to be vacant, were not pleaſed to be ſo ſoon diſmiſſed: And very great Pains were taken by thoſe, who were thought to be able to do him the leaſt Harm, becauſe They were known to be his Enemies, to perſuade the Members of Parliament, "that it was the Chancellor "only who had hindered their continuing together, "and that He had adviſed the King to diſſolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

The Storm begins to ariſe againſt the Chancellor.

AND Sir *William Coventry* was ſo far from being reſerved in his Malice, that the very Day that the Parliament was diſmiſſed, after He had incenſed them againſt the Chancellor, in the Preſence of ſix or ſeven of the Members, who were not all of the ſame Mind, He declared, "that if at their next Meeting, which "would be within little more than two Months, They "had a Mind to remove the Chancellor from the "Court, They ſhould eaſily bring it to paſs:" Of all which He had quickly Information, and had ſeveral other Advertiſements from Perſons of Honour, "that "there was a ſtrong Combination entered into againſt "him;" and They mentioned ſome Particulars to have been told the King concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his Majeſty. All which Particulars, being without any Colour or Ground of Truth, He believed were Inventions (though not from thoſe who informed him) only to amuſe him.

Sir William Coventry *inceſes the Members of the Houſe of Commons againſt him.*

YET He took an Opportunity to acquaint the King with it, who, with the ſame Openneſs He had always uſed, conferred with him about his preſent Buſineſs, but only of the Buſineſs. He beſought his Majeſty to let him know, "whether He had received any In-

"formation

"formation that He had done or ſaid ſuch and ſuch "Things," which He made appear to him to be in themſelves ſo incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his Majeſty's Power to believe them; to which the King anſwered, "that Nobody had told "him any ſuch Thing." To which the other replied, "that He did really think They had not, though He "knew that They had bragged They had done ſo, "and thereby incenſed his Majeſty againſt him; "which They deſired ſhould be generally believed."

THE Truth is, the Chancellor was guilty of that himſelf which He had uſed to accuſe the Archbiſhop *Laud* of, that He was too proud of a good Conſcience. He knew his own Innocence, and had no Kind of Apprehenſion of being publickly charged with any Crime. He knew well He had many Enemies who had Credit with the King, and that They did him all the ill Offices They could: And He knew that the Lady's Power and Credit increaſed, and that She deſired Nothing more than to remove him from his Majeſty's Confidence; in which He never thought her to blame, ſince She well knew that He employed all the Credit He had to remove her from the Court. But He thought himſelf very ſecure in the King's Juſtice: And though his Kindneſs was much leſſened, He was confident his Majeſty would protect him from being oppreſſed, ſince He knew his Integrity; and never ſuſpected that He would conſent to his Ruin. He was in Truth weary of the Condition He was in, and had in the laſt Year undergone much Mortification; and deſired Nothing more, than to be diveſted of all other Truſts and Employments than what concerned the Chancery only, in which He could have no Rival, and in the Adminiſtration whereof He had not heard of any Complaint: And this He thought might have ſatisfied all Parties; and had ſometimes deſired the King, "that He might retire from all other Bu-"ſineſs, than that of the Judicatory," for He plainly diſcerned He was not able to contend with other Struggles.

I CAN-

I CANNOT avoid in this Place mentioning an Accident that fell out in this Time, and enlarge upon all the Circumſtances thereof, which might otherwiſe be paſſed over, but that it had an immediate Influence on the Fate of the Perſon who is ſo near his Fall. The King had been very much offended with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had behaved himſelf much worſe towards him than could be expected from his Obligations and Diſcretion, and had been in Truth the original Cauſe of all the ill Humour which had been in Both Houſes of Parliament in the laſt Seſſion; after the End of which He went into the Country without taking his Leave of the King, and in ſeveral Places ſpake with greater Licenſe of the Court and Government, and of the Perſon of the King, than any other Perſon preſumed to do; of all which his Majeſty had Intelligence and Information, and was at that Time without Doubt more offended with him than with any Man in *England*, and had really great Provocation to Jealouſy of his Fidelity, as well as of his Reſpect and Affection. The Lord *Arlington* as Secretary of State, had received ſeveral Informations of dangerous Words ſpoken by him againſt the King, and of his Correſpondencies with Perſons the moſt ſuſpected for ſeditious Inclinations, the Duke having made himſelf very popular amongſt the *Levellers*, and amongſt them who clamoured for Liberty of Conſcience, which Pretence He ſeemed very much to cheriſh.

A Particular relating to the Duke of Buckingham which haſtens the Fate of the Chancellor.

THE King was very much awakened to be jealous of him, beſides his Behaviour in the Parliament, by ſome Informations He received from his own Servants. There was one *Braythwaite* a Citizen, who had been a great Confident of *Cromwell* and of the *Council of State*, a Man of Parts, and looked upon as having a greater Intereſt with the diſcontented Party than any Man of the City. Upon the King's Return this Man fled beyond the Sea, aud after near a Year's Stay there came again to *London*, but remained there as *incognito*, came not upon the *Exchange*, nor was ſeen in publick, and returned

An Account of the Duke's Behaviour.

returned again into *Holland*; and ſo made frequent Journies backward and forward for ſeveral Months, and then came and reſided publickly in the City. This being taken Notice of by Sir *Richard Browne*, who was Major General of the City, upon whoſe Vigilance the King very much and very juſtly depended, and the Man being well known to him, He had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till He underſtood that He was a Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and in great Truſt with him, as He was; for the Duke had committed the whole Managery of his Eſtate to him, and upon his Recommendation had received many other inferiour Servants to be employed under him, all of the ſame Leven with him, and all notorious for their Diſaffection to the Church and State. The Major General, being one Day to give the King an Account of ſome Buſineſs, told him likewiſe of this Man, "as one as worthy to be ſuſpected for all diſloyal Pur-"poſes, and as like to bring them to paſs, as any "Man of that Condition in *England*;" and ſeemed to wonder "that the Duke would entertain ſuch a Perſon "in his Service."

At that Time the Duke had by his Diligence, and thoſe Faculties towards Mirth in which He excelled, made himſelf very acceptable to the King; though many wondered that He could be ſo, conſidering what the King himſelf knew of him: Inſomuch that his Majeſty told him what He had been informed of his Steward, and how much He ſuffered in his Reputation for entertaining ſuch Servants. The Duke received the Animadverſion with all poſſible Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of the Obligation, and then enlarged upon the Commendation of the Man, "of "his great Abilities, and the Benefit He received by "his Service;" and beſought his Majeſty "that He "would vouchſafe to hear him, for He believed He "would give an Account of the State of the City, and "of many Particulars which related to his Majeſty's "Service, better than moſt Men could do." And

the

the King ſhortly after ſupping at the Duke's Houſe, He found an Opportunity to preſent Mr. *Braythwaite* to him, who was a Man of a very good Aſpect, which that People uſed not to have, and of notable Inſinuation. He made the King a Narration of the whole Courſe of his Life, in which He did not endeavour to make himſelf appear a better Man than He had been reported to be; which Kind of Ingenuity, as Men call it, is a wonderful Approach towards being believed. He related "by what Degrees, and in what "Method of Conviction, He had explicated himſelf "from all thoſe ill Principles in which He had been "entangled: And that it had been a principal Motive "to him to embrace the Opportunity of ſerving the "Duke, that He might totally retire from that Com-"pany and Converſation to which He had been moſt "accuſtomed. And yet He thought He had ſo much "Credit with the chief of them, that They could ne-"ver enter into any active Combination, but He "ſhould have Notice of it: And aſſured his Majeſty "that Nothing ſhould paſs of Moment amongſt that "People, but his Majeſty ſhould have very ſeaſonable "Information of it, and that He would always ſerve "him with great Fidelity." In Fine, the King was well ſatisfied with his Diſcourſe, and often afterwards upon the like Opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well diſpoſed to do him any Service.

DURING the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in which the Duke carried himſelf ſo diſreſpectfully to the King, this Man found an Opportunity to get Acceſs to his Majeſty, which He was willing to give him; when He ſaid, "that He thought it his Duty, and accord-"ing to his Obligation, to give his Majeſty an Ac-"count of what He had lately obſerved, and of his "own Reſolutions." He told him, "that his Lord "was of late very much altered, and was fallen into "the Acquaintance and Converſation of ſome Men of "very mean Condition, but of very deſperate Inten-"tions; with whom He uſed to meet at unſeaſonable "Hours,

"Hours, and in obſcure Places, where Perſons of "Quality did not uſe to reſort; and that He fre- "quently received Letters from them: All which "made him apprehend that there was a Deſign on "Foot, which, how unreaſonable ſoever, the Duke "might be engaged in. And for theſe and other Rea- "ſons, and the irregular Courſe of his Life, He was "reſolved to withdraw himſelf from his Service: And "that He hoped, into what Extravagancies ſoever the "Duke ſhould caſt himſelf, his Majeſty would retain "a good Opinion of him, who would never ſwerve "from his Affection and Duty."

The Information and Teſtimony, which the Lord *Arlington* brought to the King ſhortly after this Advertiſement, made the greater Impreſſion; and there were many Particulars in the Informations that could not be ſuſpected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor Fellow, who had a poorer Lodging about *Tower-Hill*, and profeſſed Skill in Horoſcopes, to whom the Duke often repaired in Diſguiſe in the Night: And the Lord *Arlington* had cauſed that Fellow to be apprehended, and his Pockets and his Chamber to be ſearched; where were found ſeveral Letters to the Duke of *Buckingham*, one or two whereof were in his Pocket ſealed and not ſent, and the reſt Copies, and one original Letter from the Duke to him, in all which there were many unuſual Expreſſions, which were capable of a very ill Interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This Man and ſome others were ſent cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Arlington* and two other Privy Counſellors, by the King's Order, took their ſeveral Examinations, and confronted them with thoſe Witneſſes, who accuſed them and juſtified their Accuſations; all which were brought to the King.

And then his Majeſty was pleaſed to acquaint the Chancellor with all that had paſſed, who to that Minute had not the leaſt Imagination of any Particular relating to it: Nor had He any other Prejudice to the

Perſon

Perſon of the Duke (for He behaved himſelf towards him with more than ordinary Civility), than what was neceſſary for any Man to have upon Account of the Extravagancy of his Life; and which He could not be without, upon what He had often received from the Duke himſelf upon his own Knowledge. The King now ſhewed him all thoſe Examinations and Depoſitions which had been taken; and that Letter to the Fellow, "which," his Majeſty ſaid, "He knew to "be every Word the Duke's own Hand;" and the Letters to the Duke from the Fellow, which ſtill gave him the Style of Prince, and mentioned what *great Things his Stars had promiſed to him*, and *that He was the Darling of the People, who had ſet their Hearts and Affections and all their Hopes upon his Highneſs*, with many other fooliſh and ſome fuſtian Expreſſions. His Majeſty told him in what Places the Duke had been ſince He left *London*; "that He ſtayed few Days in any Place; "and that He intended on ſuch a Day, that was to "come, to be in *Staffordſhire* at the Houſe of Sir "*Charles Wolſely*," a Gentleman who had been of great Eminency in *Cromwell's* Council, and one of thoſe who had been ſent by the Houſe of Commons to perſuade him to accept the Crown with the Title of King. 31) Upon the whole Matter his Majeſty aſked him, "what "Way He was to proceed againſt him:" To which He anſwered, "that He was firſt to be apprehended; "and when He ſhould be in Cuſtody and examined, "his Majeſty would better judge which Way He was "to proceed againſt him."

The King iſſues out his Warrant to apprehend him.

UPON farther Conſideration with the Chancellor and Lord *Arlington* and others of the Council, the King ſent a Sergeant at Arms, with a Warrant under his Sign Manual, "to apprehend the Duke of *Buckingham*, "and to bring him before one of the Secretaries of "State, to anſwer to ſuch Crimes as ſhould be ob-"jected againſt him;" or to that Purpoſe. The Sergeant made a Journey into *Northamptonſhire*, where He was informed the Duke was: But ſtill, when He came

to the Houſe where He was ſaid to be, it was pretended that He was gone from thence ſome Hours before; by which He found that He had Notice of his Buſineſs. And therefore He concealed himſelf, and appointed ſome Men to watch and inform themſelves of his Motions, it being generally reported that He would be at the Houſe of the Earl of *Exeter* at ſuch a Time. And Notice was given him, that He was then in a Coach with Ladies going to that Houſe: Upon which He made ſo good Haſte, that He was in View of the Coach, and ſaw the Duke alight out of the Coach, and lead a Lady into the Houſe; upon which the Door of the Court was ſhut before He could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other Doors that were all ſhut; ſo that He could not get into the Houſe, though it were ſome Hours before Sunſet in the Month of *May*. After ſome Hours Attendance, one Mr. *Fairfax*, who waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, came to the Door, and without opening it aſked him, "what He would have:" And He anſwered, "that He had a Meſſage to the Duke from "the King, and that He muſt ſpeak with him;" to which He replied, "that He was not there, and that "He ſhould ſeek for him in ſome other Place." The Sergeant told him, "that He ſaw him go into the "Houſe; and that if He might not be admitted to "ſpeak with him, He would require the Sheriff of the "County to give him his Aſſiſtance:" Upon which the Gentleman went away, and about Half an Hour after returned again, and threatened the Sergeant ſo much, after He had opened the Door, that the poor Man had not the Courage to ſtay longer; but returned to the Court, and gave a full Relation in Writing to the Secretary of the Endeavours He had uſed, and the Affronts He had received.

He is removed from all his Employments.

Why all the particular Circumſtances of this Affair are ſo punctually related, will appear anon. The King was ſo exceedingly offended at this Carriage and Behaviour of the Duke, that He made Relation of it to the Council-

Council-Board, and publickly declared, "that He "was no longer of that Number," and cauſed his Name to be left out in the Liſt of the Counſellors, and "that He was no longer a Gentleman of his Bed-"chamber," and put the Earl of *Rocheſter* to wait in his Place. His Majeſty likewiſe revoked that Commiſſion by which He was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of the Eaſt Riding in *Yorkſhire*, and granted that Commiſſion to the Earl of *Burlington*: So that it was not poſſible for his Majeſty to give more lively Inſtances of his Diſpleaſure againſt any Man, than He had done againſt the Duke. And at the ſame Time, with the Advice of the Board, a Proclamation iſſued out for his Apprehenſion, and inhibiting all Perſons to entertain, receive or conceal him. Upon which He thought it fit to leave the Country, and that He ſhould be leſs diſcovered in *London*, whither He reſorted, and had many Lodgings in ſeveral Quarters of the City. And though his Majeſty had frequent Intelligence where He was, and continued Advertiſements of the Liberty He took in his Diſcourſes of his own Perſon, and of [32] ſome others, of which He was no leſs ſenſible; yet when the Sergeant at Arms, and others employed for his Apprehenſion, came where He was known to have been but an Hour before, He was gone from thence, or ſo concealed there that He could not be found: And in this Manner He continued ſleeping all the Day, and walking from Place to Place in the Night, for the Space of ſome Months.

A Proclamation for apprehending him.

AT laſt being advertiſed of renewed Inſtances of the King's Diſpleaſure, and that it every Day increaſed upon new Intelligence that He received of his Behaviour, He grew weary of the Poſture He was in, and employed ſeveral Perſons to move the King on his Behalf; for He was informed that the King reſolved to proceed againſt him for his Life, and that his Eſtate was begged and given. Upon this one Night He ſent his Secretary, Mr. *Clifford*, to the Chancellor, with whom He had never entered into any Diſpute, with

The Duke deſires the Chancellor to interpoſe in his Behalf.

ſome Compliments and Expreſſions of Confidence in his Friendſhip. He profeſſed "great Innocence and "Integrity in all his Actions with Reference to the "King, though He might have been paſſionate and "indiſcreet in his Words; that there was a Conſpiracy "againſt his Life, and that his Eſtate was granted or "promiſed to Perſons who had begged it:" And in Concluſion He deſired "that He would ſend him his "Advice what He ſhould do, but rather, that He "would permit him to come to him in the Evening "to his Houſe, that He might confer with him."

The Chancellor's Advice to him.

THE Chancellor anſwered his Secretary, who was well known to him, "that He might not confer with "him till He rendered himſelf to the King; that He "was confident, having ſeen Teſtimony enough to "convince him, that the Duke was not innocent; and "that He had much to anſwer for diſreſpectful Men- "tion of the King, which would require much Ac- "knowledgment and Submiſſion: But that He did not "know that his Crimes were of that Magnitude as "would put his Life into Danger; and that He "was moſt confident that there was no Conſpiracy "to take that from him, except his Faults were of "another Nature than they yet appeared to be; and "which no Conſpiracy, which He need not fear, "could deprive him of. And He did not believe "that there had been any Attempt to beg his Eſtate: "But He was ſure there had not been, nor could be, "any Grant of it to any Man, which muſt have paſſed "by the Great Seal." He did adviſe him, and de- ſired him to follow his Advice, "that if He did know "himſelf innocent as to unlawful Actions and Deſigns, "and that his Fault conſiſted only in indiſcreet Words, "as He ſeemed to confeſs; He would no longer aggra- "vate his Offence by contemning his Warrants, which "He would not be long able to avoid, but deliver him- "ſelf into the Cuſtody of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, "which He was at Liberty by the Proclamation to "do, and ſend then a Petition to the King, that He "might

"might be heard: And that when He had done "this, He would be ready and willing to do him all "the Offices which would conſiſt with his Duty."

AND the next Day He gave his Majeſty a particular Account of the Meſſage which He had received, and of the Anſwer which He had returned; which his Majeſty approved, and ſhewed him a Letter that He had received from the Duke that Morning, which ſeemed to have been written after his Secretary had returned from the Chancellor. The Letter contained a large Profeſſion of his Innocence, and Complaint of the Power of his Enemies, and a very earneſt Deſire "that "his Majeſty would give him Leave to ſpeak with "him, and then diſpoſe of him as He pleaſed;" to which his Majeſty had anſwered to the Perſon who brought the Letter, who, as I remember, was Sir (433) *Robert Howard*, "that the Duke need not fear the "Power of any Enemies, but would be ſure to have "Juſtice if He would ſubmit to it."

The King grows weary of the Proſecution.

BUT his Majeſty in his Diſcourſe ſeemed to be as weary of the Proſecution, as the Duke was of the concealing himſelf to avoid it, and to have much Apprehenſion of his Intereſt and Power in the Parliament; and to be troubled that the principal Witneſs, upon whoſe Teſtimony He relied, was at that Time ſick of the Smallpox, and in Danger of Death, and that another retracted Part of that Evidence that He had given. In a Word, his Majeſty appeared leſs angry than He had been, and willing that an End ſhould be put to the Buſineſs without any publick Proſecution. To which the Chancellor made no other Anſwer, than "that no "Advice could be given with Preſervation of his Ma-"jeſty's Dignity, till the Duke rendered himſelf into "the Hand of Juſtice:" Which He was very unwilling to do, and ſent again to the Chancellor by Sir *Robert Howard*, to preſs him, "that He might be admitted "firſt to the King's Preſence, and then ſent to the "*Tower*." The other told him, "that if the King "were inclined to admit him in that Manner, He

"would diſſuade him from it, as a Thing diſhonour-
"able to him after ſo long a Conteſt;" and repeated the ſame to him that He ſaid formerly to Mr. *Clifford*: Nor could He be perſuaded by any others (for others did ſpeak to him to the ſame Purpoſe) to recede a Tittle from what He had inſiſted upon, "that He "ſhould put himſelf in the *Tower*." In all which He ſtill gave the King a faithful Account of every Word that paſſed: For He knew well that the Lord *Arlington* endeavoured to perſuade the King, "that the "Chancellor favoured the Duke, and deſired that He "ſhould be at Liberty;" when at the ſame Time He uſed all the Ways He could to have it inſinuated to the Duke's Friends, "that He knew Nothing of the "Buſineſs, but that the whole Proſecution was made "by the Information and Advice of the Chancellor."

The Duke ſurrenders himſelf.

IN the End, the Duke was perſuaded to render himſelf to the *Tower*: And from thence He ſent a Petition to the King, who preſently appeared very well inclined to give over any farther Proſecution; which Alteration all Men wondered at, nor could any Man imagine the Ground or Reaſon of it. For though the principal Witneſs was dead, as the Lord *Arlington* declared He was, and that ſo much could not be proved as at the firſt Diſcovery was reaſonably ſuſpected; yet the Meanneſs and Vileneſs of the Perſons with whom He kept ſo familiar Correſpondence, the Letters between them which were ready to be produced, the diſreſpectful and ſcandalous Diſcourſes which He often held concerning the King's Perſon, and many other Particulars which had moſt inflamed the King, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifeſted ſo much Vanity and Preſumption in the Duke, as muſt have leſſened his Credit and Reputation with all ſerious Men, and made him worthy of ſevere Cenſure. But whether the King thought not fit to proceed upon the Words and ſcandalous Diſcourſes, which He thought would more diſperſe and publiſh the Scandals; or whether He did really

really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his Business in Parliament; or what other Reason soever prevailed with his Majesty, as without Doubt some other there were; His Majesty was very impatient to be rid of the Business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present Order for setting the Duke at Liberty, and so to silence all farther Discourse. But He was persuaded, "that that "would most reflect upon his own Honour, by ma- "king it believed, that there had been in Truth a foul "Conspiracy against the Person of the Duke, which "would give him more Credit in the Parliament and "every where else;" for the King had not yet, with (434) all his Indulgence, a better Opinion of his Affection and Fidelity than He had before.

IN Conclusion; it was resolved, "that the Lieute- "nant of the *Tower* should bring the Duke of *Buck-* "*ingham* to the Council-Chamber, his Majesty being "present; and there the Attorney and Solicitor Ge- "neral should open the Charge that was against him, "and read all the Examinations which had been ta- "ken, and the Letters which had passed between "them:" All which was done. And the Duke denying "that He had ever written to that Fellow, "though He knew him well, and used to make him- "self merry with him," the Letter was produced (which the King and the Lord *Arlington*, who Both knew his Hand well, made no Doubt to be his Hand) and delivered to the Duke; who, as soon as He cast his Eye upon it, said, "it was not his Hand, but He well "knew whose it was." And being asked whose Hand it was, He said, "it was his Sister's, the Dutchess "of *Richmond*, with whom," He said, "it was known "that He had no Correspondence." Whereupon the King called for the Letter, and, having looked upon it, He said, "He had been mistaken," and confessed "that it was the Dutchess's Hand;" and seemed much out of Countenance upon the Mistake: Though the Letter gave still as much Cause of Suspicion, for

He is examined at the Council-Board.

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it was as ſtrange that She ſhould write to ſuch a Fellow, in a Style very obliging, and in Anſwer to a Letter; ſo that it ſeemed very reaſonable ſtill to believe, that She might have written it upon his Deſire and dictating.

THE Duke denied moſt of the Particulars contained in the Examinations: And for the other Letters which had been written to him by the Fellow who was in the *Tower* (whereof one was found in his Pocket ſealed to be ſent to the Duke, and the others were Copies of others which had been ſent; and the Witneſs who was dead had delivered one of them into the Duke's own Hand, and related at large the Kindneſs He expreſſed towards the Man, and the Meſſage He ſent to him by him), He denied that He had ever received thoſe Letters; but acknowledged, "that the Man came often to him, and pretended "Skill in Horoſcopes, but more in Diſtillations, in "which the Duke delighted and exerciſed himſelf, "but looked upon the Fellow as cracked in his Brain "and fit only to be laughed at." When the Duke was withdrawn, the King declared, "that He had "been deceived in being confident that the Letter "had been written by the Duke, which He now diſ-"cerned not to be his Hand, and He knew as well "to have been written by the Dutcheſs;" and thereupon ſeemed to think that there was Nothing elſe worth the examining: And ſo Order was given to ſet the Duke at Liberty, who immediately went to his own Houſe, and went not in ſome Days afterwards to the Court.

The King eaſily ſatisfied with his Defence.

ABOUT this Time, or in few Days afterwards, a great Affliction befell the Chancellor in his Domeſticks, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected Accidents that ſuddenly ſucceeded that more inſupportable Misfortune. His Wife, the Mother of all his Children, and his Companion in all his Baniſhment, and who had made all his former Calamities leſs grievous by her Company and Courage, having made

The Chancellor loſes his Wife.

made a Journey to *Tunbridge* for her Health, returned from thence without the Benefit She expected, yet without being thought by the Phyſicians to be in any Danger; and within leſs than three Days died: Which was ſo ſudden, unexpected and irreparable a Loſs that He had not Courage to ſupport; which Nobody wondered at who knew the mutual Satisfaction and Comfort They had in each other. And He might poſſibly have ſunk under it, if his Enemies had not found out a new Kind of Conſolation to him, which his Friends could never have thought of.

(355) WITHIN few Days after his Wife's Death, the King vouchſafed to come to his Houſe to condole with him, and uſed many gracious Expreſſions to him: Yet within leſs than a Fortnight the Duke (who was ſeldom a Day without doing him the Honour to ſee him) came to him, and with very much Trouble told him, "that ſuch a Day, that was paſt, walking with the "King in the Park, his Majeſty aſked him *how the "Chancellor did:* To which his Highneſs had made An- "ſwer, *that He was the moſt diſconſolate Perſon He ever "ſaw; and that He had lamented himſelf to him not only "upon the Loſs of his Wife, but out of Apprehenſion that "his Majeſty had of late withdrawn his Countenance from "him*; to which his Majeſty replied, *that He wondered "He ſhould think ſo, but that He would ſpeak more to him "of that Subject the next Day.* And that that Morning "his Majeſty had held a long Diſcourſe with him, in "which He told him, *that He had received very parti- "cular and certain Intelligence, that when the Parliament "ſhould meet again They were reſolved to impeach the Chan- "cellor, who was grown very odious to them, not only for his "having oppoſed them in all thoſe Things upon which They "had ſet their Hearts, but that They had been informed "that He had propoſed and adviſed their Diſſolution; which "had enraged them to that Degree, that They had taken a "Reſolution as ſoon as They came together again to ſent up "an Impeachment againſt him; which would be a great "Diſhonour to his Majeſty and obſtruct all his Affairs, nor "ſhould*

The Duke of York ſent by the King to deſire the Chancellor to reſign.

"*ſhould He be able to protect him or divert them: And* "*therefore that it would be neceſſary for his Service, and* "*likewiſe for the Preſervation of the Chancellor, that He* "*ſhould deliver up the Seal to him.* All which He de- "ſired the Duke" (who confeſſed that He had likewiſe received the ſame Advertiſement) "to inform him "of: And *that the Chancellor himſelf ſhould chooſe the* "*Way and the Manner of delivering up the Seal, whether* "*He would wait upon the King and give it into his own* "*Hand, or whether the King ſhould ſend a Secretary or a* "*Privy Counſellor for it.*" When the Duke had ſaid all that the King had given him in Charge, He declared himſelf "to be much unſatisfied with the King's "Reſolution; and that though He had received the "ſame Advertiſement, and believed that there was a "real Combination and Conſpiracy againſt him, yet "He knew the Chancellor's Innocence would not be "frighted with it."

THE Chancellor was indeed as much ſurpriſed with this Relation, as He could have been at the Sight of a Warrant for his Execution. He told the Duke, "that He did not wonder that the King and his High- "neſs had been informed of ſuch a Reſolution; for "that They who had contrived the Conſpiracy, and "done all They could to make it prevalent, could beſt "inform his Majeſty and his Highneſs of what would "probably fall out." And thereupon He informed the Duke "of what had paſſed at the Day of the laſt "Prorogation, and the Diſcourſe and Promiſe Sir "*William Coventry* had made to them, if They had a "Mind to be rid of the Chancellor: But," He ſaid, "that which only afflicted him was, that the King "ſhould have no better Opinion of his Innocence and "Integrity, than to conclude that ſuch a Combination "muſt ruin him. And He was more troubled to find, "that the King himſelf had ſo terrible an Apprehen- "ſion of their Power and their Purpoſes, as if They "might do any Thing They had a Mind to do. He "did not believe that He was ſo odious to the Parlia-

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"ment as He was reported to be; if He were, it was "only for his Zeal to his Majeſty's Service, and his "inſiſting upon what his Majeſty had reſolved: But "He was confident that when his Enemies had done "all that their Malice could ſuggeſt againſt him, it "would appear that the Parliament was not of their
(436) "Mind. He wiſhed that He might have the Honour "to ſpeak with the King, before He returned any An-"ſwer to his Commands." The Duke was pleaſed graciouſly to reply, "that it was the Advice He in-"tended to give him, that He ſhould deſire it; and "that He doubted not but that He ſhould eaſily pre-"vail with the King to come to his Houſe, whither He "had uſed ſo frequently to come, and where He had "been ſo few Days before:" And at this Time the Chancellor was not well able to walk; beſides that it was againſt the common Rules of Decency to go ſo ſoon out of his Houſe. When the Duke deſired the King, that He would vouchſafe to go to *Clarendon-Houſe*; his Majeſty very readily conſented to it, and ſaid, "He would "go thither the next Day." But that and more Days paſſed: And then He told the Duke, "that ſince He "reſolved to take the Seal, it would not be ſo fit for "him to go thither; but He would ſend for the Chan-"cellor to come to his own Chamber in *Whitehall*, and "He would go thither to him."

IN the mean Time it began to be the Diſcourſe of the Court: And the Dutcheſs, from whom the Duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who preſently went to the King with ſome Paſſion; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the General accompanied her, who all beſought the King not to take ſuch a Reſolution. And many other of the Privy Council, with none of whom the Chancellor had ſpoken, taking Notice of the Rumour, attended the King with the ſame Suit and Advice. To all whom his Majeſty anſwered, "that what He intended was for his Good, "and the only Way to preſerve him." He held longer Diſcourſe to the General, "that He did believe by

Many Perſons of Eminence interpoſe on his Behalf.

"what

"what his Brother had told him, of the extreme "Agony the Chancellor was in upon the Death of his "Wife, that He had himſelf deſired to be diſmiſſed "from his Office;" and bade the General "go to "him, and bid him come the next Morning to his "own Chamber at *Whitehall*, and the King would "come thither to him." And the General came to him with great Profeſſions of Kindneſs, which He had well deſerved from him, gave him a Relation of all that had paſſed with the King, and concluded, "that "what had been done had been upon Miſtake; and "He doubted not, but that upon Conference with his "Majeſty all Things would be well ſettled again to his "Content;" which no Doubt He did at that Time believe as well as wiſh.

The Chancellor attends the King at Whitehall.

UPON *Monday*, the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*, about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Chancellor went to his Chamber in *Whitehall*, where He had not been many Minutes, before the King and Duke by themſelves came into the Room. His Majeſty looked very graciouſly upon him, and made him ſit down; when the other acknowledged "the Honour his Ma-"jeſty had done him, in admitting him into his Pre-"ſence before He executed a Reſolution He had ta-"ken." He ſaid, "that He had no Suit to make to "him, nor the leaſt Thought to diſpute with him, or "to divert him from the Reſolution He had taken; "but only to receive his Determination from himſelf, "and moſt humbly to beſeech him to let him know "what Fault He had committed, that had drawn this "Severity upon him from his Majeſty." The King told him, "He had not any Thing to object againſt "him; but muſt always acknowledge, that He had "always ſerved him honeſtly and faithfully, and that "He did believe that never King had a better Servant: "And that He had taken this Reſolution for his Good "and Preſervation, as well as for his own Convenience "and Security; and that He had verily believed that "it had been upon his Conſent and Deſire." And

Conference between them.

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thereupon his Majeſty entered upon a Relation of all
(437) that had paſſed between him and the Duke, and "that He really thought his Brother had concurred "with him in his Opinion, as the only Way to pre- "ſerve him." In that Diſcourſe the Duke ſometimes poſitively denied to have ſaid Somewhat, and explained other Things as not ſaid to the Purpoſe his Majeſty underſtood, or that He ever implied that himſelf thought it fit.

THE Sum of what his Majeſty ſaid was, "that He "was moſt aſſured by Information that could not de- "ceive him, that the Parliament was reſolved, as "ſoon as They ſhould come together again, to im- "peach the Chancellor; and then that his Innocence "would no more defend and ſecure him againſt their "Power, than the Earl of *Strafford* had defended "himſelf againſt them: And," He ſaid, "He was "as ſure, that his taking the Seal from him at this "Time would ſo well pleaſe the Parliament, that his "Majeſty ſhould thereby be able to preſerve him, "and to provide for the Paſſage of his own Buſineſs, "and the obtaining all that He deſired." He ſaid, "He was ſorry that the Buſineſs had taken ſo much "Air, and was ſo publickly ſpoken of, that He knew "not how to change his Purpoſe;" Which He ſeemed to impute to the Paſſion of the Dutcheſs, that had divulged it.

THE Chancellor told him, "that He had not con- "tributed to the Noiſe, nor had imparted it to his "own Children, till They with great Trouble in- "formed him, that They heard it from ſuch and ſuch "Perſons," whom They named, "with ſome Com- "plaint that it was concealed from them: Nor did "He then come in Hope to divert him from the Re- "ſolution He had taken in the Matter itſelf." He ſaid, "He had but two Things to trouble him with. "The firſt, that He would by no Means ſuffer it to "be believed that He himſelf was willing to deliver "up the Seal; and that He ſhould not think himſelf "a Gen-

"a Gentleman, if He were willing to depart and "withdraw himſelf from the Office, in a Time when "He thought his Majeſty would have Need of all "honeſt Men, and in which He thought He might "be able to do him ſome Service. The ſecond, that "He could not acknowledge this Deprivation to be "done in his Favour, or in Order to do him Good; "but on the Contrary, that He looked upon it as the "greateſt Ruin He could undergo, by his Majeſty's "own declaring his Judgment upon him, which would "amount to little leſs than a Confirmation of thoſe "many libellous Diſcourſes which had been raiſed, "and would upon the Matter expoſe him to the "Rage and Fury of the People, who had been with "great Artifice and Induſtry perſuaded to believe, "that He had been the Cauſe and the Counſellor of "all that They liked not. That He was ſo far from "fearing the Juſtice of the Parliament, that He re-"nounced his Majeſty's Protection or Interpoſition "towards his Preſervation: And that though the "Earl of *Strafford* had undergone a Sentence He did "not deſerve, yet He could not acknowledge their "Caſes to be parallel. That though that great Per-"ſon had never committed any Offence that could "amount to Treaſon, yet He had done many Things "which He could not juſtify, and which were Tranſ-"greſſions againſt the Law: Whereas He was not "guilty of any Action, whereof He did not deſire "the Law might be the Judge. And if his Majeſty "himſelf ſhould diſcover all that He had ſaid to him "in Secret, He feared not any Cenſure that ſhould "attend it: If any Body could charge him with any "Crime or Offence, He would moſt willingly undergo "the Puniſhment that belonged to it."

"BUT," He ſaid, "He doubted very much, that "the throwing off an old Servant, who had ſerved "the Crown in ſome Truſt near thirty Years (who "had the Honour by the Command of his bleſſed "Father, who had left good Evidence of the Eſteem

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"He had of his Fidelity, to wait upon his Majeſty "when He went out of the Kingdom, and by the "great Bleſſing of God had the Honour to return "with him again; which no other Counſellor alive "could ſay), on the ſudden, without any Suggeſtion "of a Crime, nay with a Declaration of Innocence, "would call his Majeſty's Juſtice and good Nature "into Queſtion; and Men would not know how ſe- "curely to ſerve him, when They ſhould ſee it was "in the Power of three or four Perſons who had never "done him any notable Service, nor were in the Opi- "nion of thoſe who knew them beſt like to do, to diſ- "poſe him to ſo ungracious an Act."

THE King ſeemed very much troubled and irreſo- lute; then repeated "the great Power of the Parlia- "ment, and the clear Information He had of their "Purpoſes, which They were reſolved to go through "with right or wrong; and that his own Condition "was ſuch, that He could not diſpute with them, "but was upon the Matter at their Mercy."

THE Chancellor told him, "it was not poſſible for "his Majeſty to have any probable Aſſurance what "the Parliament would do. And though He knew "He had offended ſome of the Houſe of Commons "in oppoſing their Deſires in ſuch Particulars as his Ma- "jeſty thought were prejudicial to his Service; yet He "did not doubt but his Reputation was much greater "in Both Houſes, than either of theirs who were known "to be his Enemies, and to have this Influence upon "his Majeſty, who were all known to be guilty of "ſome Tranſgreſſions, which They would have been "called in Queſtion for in Parliament, if He had not "very induſtriouſly, out of the Tenderneſs He had "for his Majeſty's Honour and Service, prevented it; "Somewhat whereof was not unknown to his Ma- "jeſty." He concluded "with beſeeching him, what- "ever Reſolution He took in his Particular, not to "ſuffer his Spirits to fall, nor himſelf to be dejected "with the Apprehenſion of the formidable Power of

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"the Parliament, which was more or leſs or Nothing, "as He pleaſed to make it: That it was yet in his "own Power to govern them; but if They found it "was in theirs to govern him, Nobody knew what "the End would be." And thereupon He made him a ſhort Relation of the Method that was uſed in the Time of *Richard* the Second, "when They terrified "the King with the Power and the Purpoſes of the "Parliament, till They brought him to conſent to "that from which He could not redeem himſelf, "and without which They could have done him no "Harm." And in the Warmth of this Relation He found a ſeaſonable Opportunity to mention the Lady with ſome Reflections and Cautions, which He might more adviſedly have declined.

The King leaves him in Diſpleaſure.

AFTER two Hours Diſcourſe the King roſe without ſaying any Thing, but appeared not well pleaſed with all that had been ſaid; and the Duke of *York* found He was offended with the laſt Part of it. The Garden, that uſed to be private, had now many in it to obſerve the Countenance of the King when He came out of the Room: And when the Chancellor returned, the Lady, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *May*, looked together out of her open Window with great Gaiety and Triumph, which all People obſerved.

FOUR or five Days paſſed, without any farther Proceedings, or the King's declaring his Reſolution: And in that Time the Chancellor's Concern was the only Argument of the Court. Many of the Council and other Perſons of Honour and Intereſt, preſumed to ſpeak with the King, and to give a very good Teſtimony of him, of his unqueſtionable Integrity, and of his Parts, and Credit with the ſober Part of the Nation: And to thoſe his Majeſty always commended him, with Profeſſion of much Kindneſs; but ſaid, "He had made himſelf odious to the Parlia-"ment, and ſo was no more capable to do him Ser-"vice." On the other Side the Lady and Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* exceedingly triumph-

ed,

ed, the laſt of which openly and without Reſerve declared, "that He had given the King Advice to "remove him as a Man odious to the Parliament, "and that the King would be ruined if He did it "not; that He was ſo imperious that He would en- "dure no Contradiction;" with many other Reproaches to that Purpoſe. But except thoſe three, and Mr. *May* and Mr. *Brounker*, there ſeemed none of Name in the Court who wiſhed that the Reſolution ſhould be purſued.

The Duke of York *intereſts himſelf on the Chancellor's Behalf.*

THE Duke of *York* concerned himſelf wonderfully on the Chancellor's Behalf, and with as much Warmth as any private Gentleman could expreſs on the Behalf of his Friend. He had great Indignation at the Behaviour of Sir *William Coventry* and Mr. *Brounker*, that being his Servants They ſhould preſume to ſhew ſo much Malice towards a Perſon They knew He had Kindneſs for. And the former had ſo much Senſe of it, that He reſolved to quit the Relation by which He had got vaſt Wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that ſince He was Commiſſioner for the Trea- "ſury, He found He ſhould not be able to attend "his Service ſo diligently as He ought to do; and "therefore deſired his Highneſs's Favour in his Diſ- "miſſion, and that He would give him Leave to "commend an honeſt Man to ſucceed him in his Ser- "vice:" To which his Highneſs ſhortly anſwered, "that He might diſpoſe himſelf as He would, with "which He was well content; and that He would "chooſe another Secretary for himſelf without his "Recommendation." And his Highneſs preſently went to the Chancellor, and informed him of it, with Diſpleaſure enough towards the Man, and much Satisfaction that He was rid of him; and aſked him, "whom He would recommend to him for a Secre- "tary." He told his Highneſs, "that if He would "truſt his Judgment, He would recommend a Perſon "to him, who He believed was not unknown to him, "and for whoſe Parts and Fidelity He would paſs his

"Word, having had good Experience of Both in his "having ſerved him as a Secretary for the Space of "above ſeven Years;" and named Mr. *Wren*. The Duke ſaid, "He knew him well, being a Member "of the Royal Company, where He often heard him "ſpeak very intelligently, and diſcerned him to be a "Man of very good Parts, and therefore He would "very willingly receive him; and the rather, that "He knew it would be looked upon as an Evidence "of his Kindneſs to him, which He would always "own and teſtify to all the World:" And within two Days after, He received him into his Service with the King's Approbation, the Gentleman's Abilities being very well known, and his Perſon much loved.

In this Suſpenſion, the common Argument was, "that it was not now the Queſtion whether the Chan- "cellor was innocent; but whether, when the King "had ſo long reſolved to remove him, and had now "proceeded ſo far towards it, He ſhould retract his "Reſolution, and be governed by his Brother: It was "enough that He was not beloved, and that the "Court wiſhed him removed." And Mr. *Brounker* openly declared, "that the Reſolution had been taken "above two Months before; and that it would not "conſiſt with his Majeſty's Honour to be hectored "out of it by his Brother, who was wrought upon "by his Wife's Crying." And this Kind of Argumentation was every Moment inculcated by the Lady and her Party: Inſomuch as when the Duke made his Inſtances with all the Importunity He could uſe, and put his Majeſty in Mind "of many Diſcourſes "his Majeſty had formerly held with him, of the "Chancellor's Honeſty and Diſcretion, conjuring him "to love and eſteem him accordingly, when his High- "neſs had not ſo good an Opinion of him;" and complained, "that now He had found by good Ex- "perience that He deſerved that Character, his Ma- "jeſty would withdraw his Kindneſs from him, and

"rather

"rather believe others, who He knew were his Ene-"mies, than his own Judgment:" The King gave no other Anſwer, than "that He had proceeded too "far to retire; and that He ſhould be looked upon "as a Child if He receded from his Purpoſe."

The Great Seal taken from the Chancellor.

AND ſo being reconfirmed, upon the thirtieth of *Auguſt* in the Year 1667 He ſent Secretary *Morrice*, who had no Mind to the Employment, with a Warrant under the Sign Manual, to require and receive the Great Seal; which the Chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the Expreſſions of Duty to the King. And as ſoon as the Secretary had delivered it to the King in his Cloſet, Mr. *May* went into the Cloſet, and fell upon his Knees, and kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, telling him "that He was now King, "which He had never been before."

THE Chancellor believed that the Storm had been now over; for He had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of the Diſpleaſure of the Parliament, or of any Thing They could ſay or do againſt him: Yet He reſolved to ſtay at his Houſe till it ſhould meet (without going thither, which He was informed would be ill taken), that He might not be thought to be afraid of being queſtioned; and then to retire into the Country, and to live there very privately. And there was a Report raiſed without any Ground, that He intended to go to the Houſe of Peers, and take his Precedence as Chancellor, with which the King was much offended: But as ſoon as He heard of it, He deſired the Lord Chamberlain to aſſure his Majeſty, "that He never intended any ſuch Thing, nor "would ever do any Thing that He believed would "diſpleaſe him;" with which He ſeemed well ſatisfied.

HOWEVER a new Tempeſt was quickly raiſed againſt him. Many Perſons of Honour and Quality came every Day to viſit him with many Expreſſions of Affection and Eſteem; and moſt of the King's Servants, except only thoſe few who had declared

themſelves his Enemies, ſtill frequented the Houſe with the ſame Kindneſs They had always profeſſed: But They were looked upon quickly with a very ill Countenance by the other Party, and were plainly told, "that the King would take it ill from all his "Servants who viſited the Chancellor;" though when ſome of them aſked his Majeſty, "whether their viſit-"ing him, to whom They had been formerly much "beholden, would offend his Majeſty;" He anſwered, "No, He had not forbid any Man to viſit him." Yet it appeared more every Day, that They were beſt looked on who forbore going to him, and the other found themſelves upon much Diſadvantage; by which however many were not diſcouraged.

THE chief Proſecutors behaved themſelves with more Inſolence than was agreeable to their Diſcretion: And the Lord *Arlington*, who had long before behaved himſelf with very little Courteſy towards all Perſons whom He believed to be well affected to the Chancellor, even towards Ambaſſadours and other foreign Miniſters, now when any of his Friends came to him for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs in his Office, aſked them "when They ſaw the Chancellor," and bade them "go to him to put their Buſineſs into a "Method." The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had after his Enlargement viſited the Chancellor, and acknowledged the Civilities He had received from him, came now again to the Court, and was received with extraordinary Grace by the King, and reſtored to all the Honours and Offices of which He was deprived; and was informed and aſſured, "that all the Pro-"ceedings which had been againſt him were upon "the Information and Advice of the Chancellor:" And whatever He had ſpoken in Council was told him in that Manner (and without the true Circumſtances) that might make moſt Impreſſion on him.

The Duke of Buckingham reſtored to all his Employments.

ONE Day whilſt that Matter was depending (which is not mentioned before) the Lord *Arlington*, after He found the King had acquainted the Chancellor with

with the Buſineſs, and ſhewed him the Information and Examinations which had been taken, propoſed, there being more or the ſame Witneſſes to be farther examined, "that the Chancellor might be preſent "with the reſt who had been formerly employed at "their examining:" Which the King ſeeming to conſent to, the other deſired to be excuſed, "for "that the Office He held never uſed to be ſubject to "thoſe Employments;" and in the Debate added, "that if the Teſtimony of Witneſſes made good all "that was ſuggeſted, and the Duke ſhould be brought "to a Trial, it might probably fall out, that the King "might command him to execute the Office of High "Steward, as He had lately done in the Trial of the "Lord *Morley*; and in that Reſpect it would be very "incongruous for him to be preſent at the Exami-"nations." The Duke was now informed, without any of the Circumſtances, that the Chancellor had ſaid that He was to be High Steward at the Trial of the Duke.

He is inflamed againſt the Chancellor.

THE Duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the Matter know, that the Lord *Arlington* (with whom He had Enmity) had been very ſolicitous in his Proſecution, had, after his having viſited the Chancellor, ſent a Friend, whom He thought He would truſt, to him "to deſire him to deal freely "with him concerning the Lord *Arlington*, whom "He knew to be an Enemy to Both of them; and "that He muſt have him examined upon that Con-"ſpiracy, which He hoped He would not take ill:" To which He anſwered, "that He neither would nor "could be examined concerning any Thing that had "been ſaid or done in Council; but that He would "as his Friend, and to prevent his expoſing himſelf "to any new Inconvenience, very freely and faith-"fully aſſure him, that He did not believe that there "had been any Conſpiracy againſt him, nor did know "that the Lord *Arlington* had done any Thing in the "Proſecution, but what was according to the Obli-

"gation and Duty of his Office; which Teſtimony," He ſaid, "could proceed only from Juſtice, ſince He "well knew that Lord did not wiſh him well." This Anſwer, it ſeems, or the Deſpair of drawing any other from him to his Purpoſe, diſpoſed him to give entire Credit to the other Information; and the King took great Pains to reconcile him to the Lord *Arlington*, who made many Vows to him of his future Service, and deſired his Protection: And hereupon the Duke openly profeſſed his Reſolution of Revenge, and frankly entered into the Combination with the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* againſt the Chancellor.

And induced to concur in the Proſecution.

BUT the Knowledge of all this did not give him much Trouble (ſo much Confidence He had in his own Innocence, and ſo little Eſteem of the Credit and Intereſt of his Enemies), until He heard that the King himſelf expreſſed great Diſpleaſure towards him, and declared "that He had miſbehaved him-"ſelf towards his Majeſty, and that He was ſo im-"perious that He would endure no Contradiction; "that He had a Faction in the Houſe of Commons, "that oppoſed every Thing that concerned his Ma-"jeſty's Service, if it were not recommended to them "by him; and that He had given him very ill Ad-"vice concerning the Parliament, which offended "him moſt:" All which They to whom his Majeſty ſaid it divulged to others, that They might thereby leſſen the Chancellor's Credit and Intereſt. It is very true, They who had taken all Advantages to alienate the King's Affections from him, had at firſt only proposed his Removal "as a Perſon odious to the "Parliament, and whom They were reſolved to im-"peach, which would put his Majeſty into a Streight, "either to renounce and deſert an old Servant, which "would not be for his Honour, or, by protecting "him, to deprive himſelf of all thoſe Benefits which "He expected from the Parliament; whereas the "removing him would ſo gratify the Houſes, that "They

The King expreſſes great Diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor.

"They would deny Nothing that his Majeſty ſhould "demand of them;" and his Majeſty did believe it the only Way to preſerve him. But when They had prevailed ſo far, and rendered themſelves more neceſſary to him, They proſecuted what They had begun with more viſible Animoſity, and told him, "that if the Parliament ſuſpected that his Majeſty "retained ſtill any Kindneſs towards him, They "would not be ſatisfied with his Removal, but ap- "prehend that He would be again received into his "Favour; and He would in the mean Time have ſo "much Credit in Both Houſes, eſpecially if He ſate "in the Houſe of Peers," which They undertook to know He intended to do, "that He would be able "to obſtruct whatſoever his Majeſty deſired: And "therefore it was neceſſary that his Majeſty ſhould "upon all Occaſions declare, and that it ſhould be "believed, that He had ſo full a Prejudice againſt "him, that Nobody ſhould have Cauſe to fear, that "He would ever again be received into any Truſt." And this diſpoſed his Majeſty to diſcourſe to many in that Manner that is before ſet down.

AND when the Duke of *York* lamented to his Majeſty the Reports which were generally ſpread abroad, of the Diſcourſes which He made to many Perſons of the Chancellor's Miſbehaviour towards himſelf, and his own Diſpleaſure againſt him; the King denied many of the Particulars, as that concerning his ill Counſel againſt the Parliament, which He denied to have ſpoken: But ſaid withal, "that if the Chancel- "lor had done as He adviſed him, and delivered up "the Seal to him as of his own Inclination, all would "have been quiet. But ſince He inſiſted ſo much "upon it, and compelled him to ſend for it in that "Manner, He was obliged in the Vindication of his "Honour to give ſome Reaſons for what He had "done, when other Men took upon them ſo loudly "to commend the Chancellor, and to juſtify his In- "nocence, not without ſome Reflection upon his "own

"own Honour and Juſtice, which He could not but "take very ill: But He ſhould not ſuffer" (He ſaid) "for what other Men did, and that He would uſe "his two Sons as kindly as ever He had done." And it muſt be always acknowledged, that though great Importunity was uſed to his Majeſty to diſcharge his two Sons from his Service, as a Thing neceſſary by all the Rules of Policy, not to ſuffer the Sons to remain ſo near his Perſon, when their Father lay under ſo notorious a Brand of his Diſpleaſure (in which They believed They had ſo far prevailed, that They took upon them to promiſe their Places to other Men); yet the King poſitively refuſed to yield to them, and continued his Favour ſtill to them Both in the ſame Manner He had done. And though He was long after perſuaded to ſuſpend his eldeſt Son from waiting, under which Cloud He continued for many Months, yet at laſt He was reſtored to his Place with Circumſtances of extraordinary Favour and Grace: Nor did his Majeſty afterwards recede from his Goodneſs towards either of them, notwithſtanding all the Attempts which were made.

The Parliament meets: The King reflects on the Chancellor.

THE Parliament met upon the tenth of *October*, when the King in a ſhort Speech told them, "that "there had been ſome former Miſcarriages, which "had occaſioned ſome Differences between him and "them: But that He had now altered his Counſels, "and made no Queſtion but that They ſhould "henceforward agree, for He was reſolved to give "them all Satisfaction; and did not doubt but that(443) "They would ſupply his Neceſſities, and provide for "the Payment of his Debts;" with an Inſinuation, "that what had been formerly done amiſs had been "by the Advice of the Perſon whom He had remov-"ed from his Counſels, and with whom He ſhould "not hereafter adviſe."

Unfair Methods uſed to induce Both Houſes to thank the King for removing him.

WHEN the Houſe of Commons came together, one *Tomkins*, a Man of very contemptible Parts and of worſe Manners (who uſed to be encouraged by Men

of

of Deſign to ſet ſome Motion on Foot, which They thought not fit to appear in themſelves till They diſcerned how it would take), moved the Houſe, "that "They might ſend a Meſſage of Thanks to the King "for his gracious Expreſſions, and for the many good "Things which He had done, and particularly for "his removing the Chancellor;" which was ſeconded by two or three, but rejected by the Houſe as a Thing unreaſonable for them who knew not the Motives which had diſpoſed his Majeſty: And ſo a Committee was appointed to prepare ſuch a Meſſage as might be fit for them to ſend. And the Houſe of Lords the ſame Day ſent to the King, without conſulting with the Houſe of Commons, to give his Majeſty Thanks for the Speech He had made to them in the Morning, which commonly uſed to be done. The King declared himſelf very much offended that the Propoſition in the Houſe of Commons for returning Thanks to him had not ſucceeded, and more that it had been oppoſed by many of his own Servants; and commanded them "to preſs and renew the Mo-"tion: That his Honour was concerned in it; and "therefore He would expect Thanks, and would "take it very ill of any of his own Servants who re-"fuſed to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: But notwithſtanding all the Labour that had been uſed contrary to all Cuſtom and Privilege of Parliament, the Queſtion held ſix Hours Debate, very many ſpeaking againſt the Injuſtice and Irregularity of it; They on the other Side urging the King's Expectation of it. In the End the Queſtion being put, it was believed the *Noes* were the greater Number: But the Diviſion of the Houſe was not urged for many Reaſons; and ſo the Vote was ſent to the Houſe of Lords, who were deſired to concur with them.

BUT it had there a greater Contradiction. They had already returned their Thanks to the King; and now to ſend again, and to add any Particular to it, would

would be very incongruous and without any Precedent: And therefore They would not concur in it. This Obſtinacy very much diſpleaſed the King: And He was perſuaded by thoſe who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this Contradiction, if He did not maſter it, would run through all his Buſineſs that ſhould be brought into that Houſe. Whereupon his Majeſty reproached many of the Lords for preſuming to oppoſe and croſs what was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for his Service: And ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "that He ſhould in his Majeſty's Name command all "the Biſhops Bench to concur in it; and if They "ſhould refuſe it, He would make them repent it;" with many other very ſevere Reprehenſions and Animadverſions. This being done in ſo extraordinary a Manner, the Duke of *York* told his Majeſty, "how "much it was ſpoken of and wondered at:" To which his Majeſty replied, "that his Honour was engaged, "and that He would not be ſatisfied if Thanks were "not returned to him by Both Houſes; and that it "ſhould go the worſe for the Chancellor if his Friends "oppoſed it." And He commanded his Royal Highneſs that He ſhould not croſs it, but was contented to diſpenſe with his Attendance, and gave him Leave to be abſent from the Debate; which Liberty many others likewiſe took: And ſo when it was again moved, though it ſtill was confidently oppoſed, it was carried by a major Part, many being abſent.

And ſo Both Houſes attended the King and gave him Thanks, which his Majeſty graciouſly received as a Boon He looked for, and ſaid Somewhat that implied that He was much diſpleaſed with the Chancellor; of which ſome Men thought They were to make the beſt Uſe They could. And therefore, after the King's Anſwer was reported to the Houſe of Peers, as of Courſe whatſoever the King ſays upon any Meſſage is always reported, it was propoſed, "that the King's "Anſwer might be entered into the Journal-Book;" which was rejected, as not uſual, even when the King him-

himſelf ſpoke to Both Houſes: Nor was what He now ſaid entered in the Houſe of Commons. However when They had conſulted together, finding that They had not yet ſo particular a Record of the Diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor, as what He had ſaid upon this Meſſage did amount unto, They moved the Houſe again, "that it might be entered in the Book:" And it was again rejected. All which would not ſerve the Turn; but the Duke of *Buckingham* a third Time moved it, as a Thing the King expected: And thereupon it was entered.

AND his Majeſty now declared to his Brother and to many of the Lords, "that He had now all He de-"ſired, and that there ſhould be no more done to the "Chancellor." And without Doubt the King had not at this Time a Purpoſe to give any farther Countenance to the Animoſity of his Enemies, who thought that what was already done was too eaſy a Compoſition, and told his Majeſty, "that, if He were not "proſecuted farther, He would gain Reputation by "it: For that the Manner in which all Votes had been "yet carried was rather a Vindication than Cenſure of "him; and He would ſhortly come to the Houſe with "more Credit to do Miſchief, and to obſtruct what-"ſoever related to his Service. But that ſuch Things "would be found againſt him, as ſoon as Men were "ſatisfied that his Majeſty had totally deſerted him "(which yet They were not), that He would have no "more Credit to do Good or Harm." Hereupon there were ſeveral Cabals entered into, who invited and ſent for Perſons of all Conditions, who had had any Buſineſs depending before the Chancellor, or Charters paſſed the Seal; and examined them whether He had not received Money from them, or They were otherwiſe grieved by him, promiſing that They ſhould receive ample Reparation.

Perſons ſought after to furniſh Matter of Impeachment againſt him.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſome others with him, ſent for Sir *Robert Harlow*, who had the Year before gone to the *Barbadoes* with the Lord *Willoughby*, who

who had much Friendſhip for him; yet after They came thither, They grew unſatisfied with each other to that Degree, that the Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governour of thoſe Iſlands, removed him from the Office He had conferred on him, and ſent him by the next Shipping into *England*; where He arrived full of Vexation for the Treatment He had received, and willing to embrace any Opportunity to be revenged on the Governour. Him the Duke of *Buckingham* ſent for, who He knew was privy to all the Lord *Willoughby's* Counſels, and aſked him, "what Money the "Lord *Willoughby* had given the Chancellor for that "Government" (for it was well known that the Chancellor had been his chief Friend in procuring that Government for him, and in diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing thoſe who in *England* or in the Iſlands had complained of him), "and what Money He had re- "ceived from thoſe Iſlands; and that it was probable "that He had ſome Influence upon the Lord *Willough-* "*by* towards the Diſgrace himſelf had undergone:" And added, "that He would do the King a very ac- "ceptable Service, in diſcovering any Thing of the "Chancellor's Miſcarriages, of which his Majeſty "himſelf knew ſo much." To which the Gentleman anſwered, "that He had no Obligation to the Chan- "cellor that would reſtrain him from declaring any "Thing that might be to his Prejudice; but that He "was not able to do it: Nor did He believe that He "had ever received any Money from the Lord *Wil-* "*loughby* or from the Iſlands." And this Kind of Artifice and Inquiſition was uſed to examine all his Actions; and They who were known to be any Way offended with him, or diſobliged by him, were moſt welcome to them.

Mr. Seymour *accuſes him of High Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons.*

AFTER many Days ſpent in ſuch cloſe Contrivances and Combinations, Mr. *Seymour*, a young Man of great Confidence and Boldneſs, ſtood up in the Houſe of Commons, and ſpake long and with great Bitterneſs againſt the Chancellor, and "of his great Corruption

"in

"in many Particulars, by which," He ſaid, "He "had gotten a vaſt Eſtate. That He had received "great Sums of Money from *Ireland*, for making a "Settlement that every Body complained of, and that "left that Kingdom in as great Diſtraction as ever it "had been. That He had gotten great Sums of Mo- "ney indirectly and corruptly from the Plantations, "the Governments whereof He had diſpoſed; by Pre- "ferments in the Law and in the Church; and for the "paſſing of Charters: And that He had received four "thouſand Pounds from the *Canary* Company for the "eſtabliſhing that Company, which was ſo great and "general a Grievance to the Kingdom. And, which "was above all this, that He had traiterouſly per- "ſuaded, or endeavoured to perſuade, the King to "diſſolve the Parliament, and to govern by a ſtanding "Army; and that He had ſaid, *that four hundred "Country Gentlemen were only fit to give Money, and did "not underſtand how an Invaſion was to be reſiſted.*" He mentioned many other odious Particulars "which" He ſaid, "He would prove," and therefore propoſed, "that They would preſently ſend up to the Lords to ac- "cuſe him of High Treaſon, and require that his Per- "ſon might be ſecured." Some others ſeconded him with very bitter Invectives: And as many gave another Kind of Teſtimony, and many Reaſons which made it improbable that He could be guilty of ſo many heinous Crimes; and "that it would be unreaſonable that He "ſhould be accuſed of High Treaſon by the Houſe, "before ſuch Proofs ſhould be preſented to them of "Crimes, that They had Reaſon to believe him "guilty." And ſo after many Hours Debate, what They propoſed for the preſent accuſing him was re- jected, and a Committee appointed to conſider of all Particulars which ſhould be preſented againſt him; "upon reporting whereof to the Houſe, it would give "ſuch farther Order as ſhould be juſt."

THE confident Averment of ſo many Particulars, and the ſo poſitively naming the particular Sums of Money

Money which He had received, with Circumſtances not likely to be feigned; and eſpecially the mentioning of many Things ſpoken in Council, "which," They ſaid, "would be proved by Privy Counſellors;" and other particular Advices given in private to the King himſelf, "which," They implied, and confidently affirmed in private, "the King himſelf would acknowledge;" made that Impreſſion upon many who had no ill Opinion of the Chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in Truth Kindneſs for him, that of Both Sorts ſeveral Meſſages of Advice were ſecretly ſent to him, "that He would preſerve "his Life by making an Eſcape, and tranſporting "himſelf into foreign Parts; for that it was not pro- "bable there could be ſo extreme and violent a Proſe- "cution, if They had not ſuch Evidence againſt him "as would compaſs their Ends." To all which He anſwered, "that He would not give his Enemies "that Advantage as to fly from them: And in the "mean Time deſired his Friends to retain the good "Opinion They had always had of him, until They "heard Somewhat proved that would make him un- "worthy of it; and then He would be well contented "They ſhould withdraw it." And it appeared afterwards, that though ſome of his good Friends had adviſed that He ſhould ſecure himſelf by Flight, it proceeded from the Advertiſements that They had received through their Hands, which came originally from his chiefeſt Enemies, who deſired that He might appear to be guilty by avoiding a Trial; and who confidently informed many Men, "that the Impeach- "ment was ready, and had been peruſed by the King, "and that his Majeſty had with his Hand ſtruck out "an Article which related to the Queen's Marriage, "and another that concerned the Marriage of the "Duke; but that there was enough left to do the Bu- "ſineſs; and that the Duke of *Buckingham* ſhould be "made High Steward for the Trial."

Many adviſe him to make his Eſcape.

Which he refuſes to do.

THESE

THESE Reports, being ſpread abroad, wrought upon the Duke to deſire the King, "that He would "let him know what He did intend; and whether He "deſired to have the Chancellor's Life, or that He "ſhould be condemned to perpetual Impriſonment:" To which his Majeſty proteſted, "that He would "have neither, but was well ſatisfied; and that He "was reſolved to ſtop all farther Proſecution againſt "him," which his Majeſty likewiſe ſaid to many others. The Duke then aſked the King, "whether "the Chancellor had ever given him Counſel to go-"vern by an Army, or any Thing like it; which," He ſaid, "was ſo contrary to his Humour, and to the "Profeſſions which He had always made, and the "Advices He had given him, that if He were guilty "of it, He ſhould doubt his Sincerity in all other "Things:" To which his Majeſty anſwered, "that "He had never given him ſuch Counſel in his Life; "but, on the Contrary, his Fault was that He always "inſiſted too much upon the Law." Whereupon his Royal Highneſs aſked him, "whether He would give "him Leave to ſay ſo to others;" and his Majeſty replied, "with all his Heart." *The King's Declaration of the Chancellor's Innocence.*

THE Duke then told it to his Secretary Mr. *Wren*, and to many other Perſons, and wiſhed them to publiſh it upon any Occaſion: Upon which it was ſpread abroad, and Mr. *Wren* informed many of the Members of the Houſe of Commons of all that had paſſed between the King and the Duke in that Diſcourſe; which ſo much diſheartened the violent Proſecutors, that when the Committee met that was to preſent the Heads of a Charge againſt him to the Houſe, Nobody appeared to give any Evidence, ſo that They adjourned without doing any Thing. Hereupon Sir *Thomas Oſborne*, a Dependant and Creature of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who had told many Perſons in the Country before the Parliament met, "that the Chancellor would be accuſed "of High Treaſon; and if He were not hanged, He "would be hanged himſelf;" this Gentleman went to the

the King, and informed him what Mr. *Wren* confidently reported in all Places, "which very much diſ-"ſatisfied that Party that deſired to do him Service; "ſo that They knew not how to behave themſelves:" To which his Majeſty anſwered, "that *Wren* was a "lying Fellow, and that He had never held any ſuch "Diſcourſe with his Brother." This gave them new Courage, and They reſolved to call Mr. *Wren* to an Account for traducing the King. And his Majeſty expoſtulated with the Duke for what Mr. *Wren* had ſo publickly diſcourſed: And his Highneſs declared, "that Mr. *Wren* had purſued his Order, his Majeſty "having not only ſaid all that was reported, but hav-"ing given him Leave to divulge it;" to which the King made no other Anſwer, "but that He ſhould (44
"be hereafter more careful of what He ſaid to him."

Which He afterwards diſowns.

All this begot new Pauſes, and no Advice was made in many Days; ſo that it was generally believed that there would be no farther Proſecution: But the old Argument, that They were gone too far to retire, had now more Force, becauſe many Members of Both Houſes were now joined to the Party in declaring againſt the Chancellor, who would think themſelves to be betrayed and deſerted if no more ſhould be done againſt him. And hereupon the Committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare Heads for a Charge, which ſate many Days, there being little Debate upon the Matter; for ſuch of the Committee, who knew him well, were ſo well pleaſed to find him accuſed of Nothing but what all the World did believe him not guilty of, that They thought They could not do him more Right, than to ſuffer all that was offered to paſs, ſince there appeared no Perſon that offered to make Proof of any Particular that was ſuggeſted. But three or four Members of the Houſe brought ſeveral Papers, containing Particulars "which," They ſaid, "would be proved:" All which They reported to the Houſe.

The

THE Heads were;

I. "THAT the Chancellor had traiterouſly, about "the Month of *June* laſt, adviſed the King to diſſolve "the Parliament, and ſaid *there could be no farther Uſe* "*of Parliaments*; *that it was a fooliſh Conſtitution and* "*not fit to govern by*; *and that it could not be imagined,* "*that three or four hundred Country Gentlemen could be* "*either prudent Men or Stateſmen*: And *that it would* "*be beſt for the King to raiſe a ſtanding Army and to go-* "*vern by that*; whereupon it being demanded how "that Army ſhould be maintained, He anſwered, *by* "*Contribution and free Quarter, as the laſt King main-* "*tained his Army in the War.*" *Articks of the Charge againſt him.*

II. "THAT He had, in the Hearing of ſeveral "Perſons, reported *that the King was a Papiſt in his* "*Heart, or popiſhly affected*, or had uſed Words to that "Effect."

III. "THAT He had adviſed the King to grant a "Charter to the *Canary* Company, for which He had "received great Sums of Money."

IV. "THAT He had raiſed great Sums of Money "by the Sale of Offices which ought not to be ſold, "and granted Injunctions to ſtop Proceedings at Law, "and diſſolved them afterwards for Money."

V. "THAT He had introduced an arbitrary Govern- "ment into his Majeſty's ſeveral Plantations, and had "cauſed ſuch as had complained to his Majeſty and "Privy Council of it to be impriſoned long for their "Preſumption; and that He had fruſtrated and re- "jected a Propoſition that had been made for the Pre- "ſervation of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers*, and for the "reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's "Obedience."

VI. "THAT He had cauſed *Quo Warrantos* to be "iſſued out againſt moſt Corporations in *England*, al- "though the Charters were newly confirmed by Act "of Parliament, till They paid him good Sums of "Money, and then the *Quo Warrantos* were diſ- "charged."

VII. "THAT He had received great Sums of Mo-
"ney for the Settlement of *Ireland*."

VIII. "THAT He had deluded the King and be-
"trayed the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Nego-
"tiations, eſpecially concerning the late War."

IX. "THAT He had procured his Majeſty's Cuſ-
"toms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing them to
"be ſo; and cauſed many pretended Debts to be paid (448)
"by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty
"was not in Strictneſs bound; for all which He had
"received great Sums of Money."

X. "THAT He had received Bribes from the Com-
"pany of Vintners, that They might continue the
"Prices of their Wines, and might be freed from the
"Penalties which They were liable to."

XI. "THAT He had raiſed in a ſhort Time a
"greater Eſtate than could be lawfully got; and that
"He had gotten the Grant of ſeveral of the Crown
"Lands contrary to his Duty."

XII. "THAT He had adviſed and effected the Sale
"of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, for leſs Money than
"the Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth."

XIII. "THAT He had cauſed the King's Letters
"under the Great Seal to one Dr. *Crowther* to be al-
"tered, and the Enrolment thereof to be raſed."

XIV. "THAT He had in an arbitrary Way exa-
"mined and drawn into Queſtion divers of his Ma-
"jeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands and Proper-
"ties, and determined thereof at the Council-Table,
"and ſtopped the Proceedings at Law, and threatened
"ſome that pleaded the Statute of 17 *Car.*"

XV. "THAT He was a principal Author of that
"fatal Counſel of dividing the Fleet in *June* 1666."

THE Committee reported another Article for his Charge, which was, "that He had kept Correſpond-
"ence with *Cromwell* during the Time of the King's
"being beyond the Seas, and had ſent over his Secre-
"tary to him, who was ſhut up with him for many
"Hours:" But there were many Members of the

Houſe,

Houſe, who wiſhed it had been true, knew well enough that fooliſh Calumny had been examined at *Paris* during the Time that his Majeſty reſided there, when Perſons of the higheſt Degree were very deſirous to have kindled a Jealouſy in the King of the Chancellor's Fidelity; and that the Scandal appeared ſo groſs and impoſſible, that his Majeſty had then publiſhed a full Vindication of his Innocence; with a farther Declaration, "that when it ſhould pleaſe "God to reſtore him to his own Dominions, He "ſhould receive ſuch farther Juſtice and Reparation, "as the Laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the Members preſent, that the Perſons who were ſuborned in that Conſpiracy had acknowledged it ſince the King's Return; and the Perſons themſelves who had ſuborned them had confeſſed it, and begged the Chancellor's Pardon: Of all which his Majeſty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, They ſeemed to reject it as being included under the *Act of Indemnity*, which They would have left him to have pleaded for the Infamy of it, if They had not very well known the Groſſneſs of the Scandal.

THOUGH the Fierceneſs of the Malice that was contracted againſt him was enough known and taken Notice of, yet the Heads for the Charge, which upon ſo much Deliberation were prepared and offered to the Houſe againſt him, were of ſuch a Nature, that all Men preſent did in their own Conſcience acquit him: And therefore it was generally believed the Proſecutors would rather have acquieſced with what They had done to blaſt his Reputation, than have proceeded farther to bring him to anſwer for himſelf. But They had gone too far to retire. And They who had firſt wrought upon the King, only by perſuading him, "that there was ſo univerſal a Hatred "againſt the Chancellor, that the Parliament would "the firſt Day accuſe him of High Treaſon; and

"that the removing him from his Office was the "only Way to preſerve him, except He would in "ſuch a Conjuncture, and when He had ſo much (449)
"Need of the Parliament, ſacrifice all his Intereſt "for the Protection of the Chancellor" (and this was the ſole Motive that had prevailed with him, as his Majeſty not only aſſured him the laſt Time He ſpake with him, with many gracious Expreſſions, but at large expreſſed it to very many Perſons of Honour, who endeavoured to diſſuade him from purſuing that Counſel, "that it was the only Expedient for the "Chancellor's Preſervation," with as great a Teſtimony of his Integrity and the Services He had done him as could be given): The ſame Men now importuned him "to proſecute with all his Power, and to "let thoſe of his Servants, and others who regarded "his Commands, know that They could not ſerve "him and the Chancellor together; and that He "ſhould look upon their adhering to him as the "abandoning his Majeſty's Service. That the Chan-"cellor had ſo great a Faction in Both Houſes, that "no Propoſition on his Majeſty's Behalf would have "Effect; and that He would ſhortly come to the "Houſe of Peers, and obſtruct all Proceedings "there."

The King perſuaded to encourage the Proſecution.

Proceedings againſt him in the Houſe of Commons.

THIS prevailed ſo far that They reſumed their former Courage, and preſſed "that He might be "accuſed by the Houſe of Commons of High Trea-"ſon: Upon which the Lords would preſently com-"mit him to the *Tower*; and then Nobody would "have any longer Apprehenſion of his Power to do "Hurt." Hereupon They reſolved again to conſider the ſeveral Heads of the Charge They had provided, to ſee if They could find any one upon which They could ground an Accuſation of High Treaſon. They ſpent a whole Day upon the firſt Head, which They thought contained enough to do their Work, it containing the moſt unpopular and ungracious Reproach that any Man could lie under; "that He had de-

"ſigned

"ſigned a ſtanding Army to be raiſed, and to govern "the Kingdom thereby; He adviſed the King to "diſſolve the preſent Parliament, to lay aſide all "Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, to govern "by military Power, and to maintain the ſame by "free Quarter and Contribution."

THE Chancellor had been bred of the Gown; and in the firſt War, in which the laſt King had been involved by a powerful Rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all Overtures towards Peace. Since the King's Return He laboured Nothing more, than that his Majeſty might enter into a firm Peace with all his Neighbours, as moſt neceſſary for the reducing his own Dominions into that Temper of Subjection and Obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all Men, that He had moſt paſſionately diſſuaded the War with *Holland*, with much Diſadvantage to himſelf; and that no Man had taken ſo much Pains as He to bring the preſent Peace to paſs, which at that Time was grateful to all Degrees of Men: And, in a Word, that He had no Manner of Intereſt or Credit with the Soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an Enemy to the Privileges which They required, of being exempted from the ordinary Rules of Juſtice, in which He always oppoſed them.

BUT let the Improbability of this Charge be what it would, there were Perſons of the Houſe who pretended that it ſhould be fully proved; and ſo the Queſtion was only, "whether upon it They ſhould "charge him with an Accuſation of Treaſon:" And after a Debate of eight Hours, it was declared by all the Lawyers of the Houſe, "that how foul ſoever "the Charge ſeemed to be, yet it contained no High "Treaſon;" and in that Concluſion They at laſt concurred who were moſt relied upon to ſupport the Accuſation. But when the Speaker directed the Order to be drawn, "that the Earl of *Clarendon* ſhould "not be accuſed of High Treaſon," it was alleged

that the Order was only to relate to that firſt Head; (450)
ſome Men declaring, "that though that Article had "miſſed him, yet there were others which would hit "him:" And ſo the Night being come, the farther Debate was adjourned to another Day.

WHEN the Day appointed came (in which Interval all imaginable Pains and Arts were uſed, by Threats and Promiſes, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be againſt the Chancellor, or to be abſent at the next Debate that concerned him), upon reading the ſeveral other Heads as they had been preſented from the Committee, it appeared to all Men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the Whole would not amount to make him guilty of High Treaſon. And They got no Ground by throwing Aſperſions upon him upon the ſeveral Arguments, which They did with extraordinary Licenſe who were known to be his Enemies; for thereby other Men of much better Reputations, and who had no Relation to the Chancellor, took Occaſion to anſwer and contradict their Calumnies, and to give him ſuch a Teſtimony, as made him another Man than They would have him underſtood to be; and their Teſtimony had more Credit: So that They declined the Purſuit of that Licenſe, and intended wholly the Diſcovery of the Treaſon, ſince no other Accuſation would ſerve their Turn.

WHEN They had examined all their Store, They pitched at laſt upon that Head, "that He had de-"luded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation in "all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to "the late War:" Which when read and conſidered, it was ſaid, "that in thoſe general Expreſſions there "was not enough contained upon which They could "accuſe him of High Treaſon, except it were add-"ed, that being a Privy Counſellor He had diſcover- (451)
"ed the King's ſecret Counſels to the Enemy." Which was no ſooner ſaid, than a young confident Man

Man, the Lord *Vaughan*, Son to the Earl of *Carbery*, a Perſon of as ill a Face as Fame, his Looks and his Manners Both extreme bad, aſked for the Paper that had been preſented from the Committee, and with his own Hand entered into that Place thoſe Words, "that being a Privy Counſellor He had diſcovered "the King's Secrets to the Enemy," which He ſaid He would prove; whilſt many others whiſpered into the Ears of thoſe who ſate next to them, "that He "had diſcovered all the ſecret Reſolutions to the King "of *France*, which," They ſaid, "was the Ground "of the King's Diſpleaſure towards him." Upon this confident Inſinuation from Perſons who were near the Perſon of his Majeſty, and known to have much Credit with him; and the poſitive Averment by a Member, "that the diſcloſing the King's Se-"crets to the Enemy," which Nobody could deny to be Treaſon, "would be poſitively and fully proved "againſt him," and the rather becauſe no Man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that They "ſhould impeach him of High Treaſon in the uſual "Manner to the Houſe of Peers." Whereupon Mr. *Seymour*, who had appeared very violent againſt him, was ſent up to the Lords; and at the Bar He accuſed *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon* of High Treaſon and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and deſired "that He "might be ſequeſtered from that Houſe, and his "Perſon ſecured."

Mr. Seymour *accuſes him of High Treaſon at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.*

AND as ſoon as He was withdrawn, ſome of the Lords moved, "that He might be ſent for:" And now the Warmth that had been ſo long within the Walls of the Houſe of Commons appeared in the Houſe of Peers. Many of the Lords, who were not thought much inclined to the Perſon of the Chancellor, repreſented, "that the Conſequence of ſuch "a Proceeding would reflect to the Prejudice of "every one of the Peers. If upon a general Accu-"ſation from the Houſe of Commons of High Trea-"ſon, without mentioning any Particular, They "ſhould

Debates in that Houſe concerning his Commitment.

"ſhould be obliged to commit any Peer; any Mem-
"ber that Houſe ſhould be offended with, how un-
"juſtly ſoever, might be removed from the Body:
"Which would be a greater Diſadvantage than the
"Members of the Houſe of Commons were liable
"to." And therefore They adviſed, "that They
"ſhould for Anſwer let the Houſe of Commons
"know, that They would not commit the Earl of
"*Clarendon* until ſome particular Charge was exhibit-
"ed againſt him."

ON the other Side, it was urged with much Paſſion, "that They ought to comply with the Houſe "of Commons in ſatisfying their Requeſts, according "to former Precedents:" And the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, and ſome other Caſes in that Parliament, were cited; which gave thoſe who were of another Mind Opportunity to inveigh againſt that Time, and the accurſed Precedents thereof, which had produced ſo many and great Miſchiefs to the Kingdom. They put them in Mind, "that They had committed "eleven Biſhops at one Time for High Treaſon, "only that They might be removed from the Houſe, "whilſt a Bill paſſed againſt their having Votes any "more in that Houſe, which was no ſooner paſſed "than They were ſet at Liberty; which had brought "great Reproach upon the Honour and Juſtice of "the Parliament: And that Both thoſe Bills, for the "Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford* and for the ex-"cluding the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, "ſtand at preſent repealed by the Wiſdom and Au-"thority of this Parliament." In a Word, after many Hours Debate with much Paſſion, either Side adhering obſtinately to their Opinion, no Reſolution was taken; but the Houſe adjourned, without ſo much as putting the Queſtion, to the next Day.

FROM the Time of the Parliament's coming together, and after the King's Diſpleaſure was generally taken Notice of, many of the Chancellor's Friends adviſed him to withdraw, and tranſport himſelf into foreign

foreign Parts; and ſome very near the King, and who were Witneſſes of the very great Diſpleaſure his Majeſty every Day expreſſed towards him, were of the ſame Opinion: But He poſitively refuſed ſo to do, and reſolved to truſt to his Innocence, which He was ſure muſt appear.

THE Debate continued ſtill between the two Houſes, which would entertain no other Buſineſs: The Houſe of Commons in frequent Conferences demanding the Commitment of the Chancellor; and the major Part of the Houſe of Peers, notwithſtanding all the indirect Proſecution and Interpoſition from the Court, remaining as reſolved not to commit him. In this unhappy Conjuncture, the Duke of *York*, who expreſſed great Affection and Concernment for the Chancellor, fell ſick of the Smallpox; which proved of great Diſadvantage to him. For not only many of the Peers who were before reſtrained by their Reſpect to him, and ſupported by his Countenance in the Debates, either changed their Minds, or abſented themſelves from the Houſe; but the General, who had always profeſſed great Friendſhip to the Chancellor, who had deſerved very well from him, and had endeavoured to diſſuade the King from withdrawing his Favour from him with all poſſible Importunity, was now changed by the unruly Humour of his Wife, and the frequent Inſtances of the King; and made it his Buſineſs to ſolicit and diſpoſe the Members of Both Houſes, with many of whom He had great Credit, "no longer to adhere "to the Chancellor, ſince the King reſolved to ruin "him, and would look upon all who were his Friends "as Enemies to his Majeſty." Notwithſtanding all which, the major Part by much of the Houſe of Peers continued ſtill firm againſt his Commitment: With which the King was ſo offended, that there were ſecret Conſultations of ſending a Guard of Soldiers, by the General's Authority, to take the Chancellor out of his Houſe, and to ſend him to the *Tower*;

Differences between the Houſes.

Tower; whither Directions were already ſent what Lodging He ſhould have, and Cautions given to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was thought to have too much Reſpect for the Chancellor, "that He "ſhould not treat him with more Civility than He "did other Priſoners."

The Chancellor is again adviſed to withdraw.

HE had many Friends of the Council and near the King, who advertiſed him of thoſe and all other Intrigues, and thereupon renewed their Importunity that He would make his Eſcape; and ſome of them undertook to know, and without Queſtion did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the "King," who every Day grew more incenſed againſt him, for the Obſtinacy his Friends in Both Houſes expreſſed on his Behalf. They urged "the ill Con-"dition He muſt in a ſhort Time be reduced to, "wherein his Innocence would not ſecure him; for "it was evident that his Enemies had no Purpoſe or "Thought of bringing him to a Trial, but to keep "him always in Priſon, which They would in the "End one Way or other bring to paſs: Whereas "He might now eaſily tranſport himſelf, and avoid "all the other Inconveniences." And They undertook to know, "that if He were gone, there would "be no farther Proceeding againſt him."

THERE could not be a more terrifying or prevalent Argument uſed towards his withdrawing, than that of a Priſon; the Thought and Apprehenſion whereof was more grievous to him than of Death itſelf, which He was confident would quickly be the Effect of the other. However He very reſolutely refuſed to follow their Advice; and urged to them "the Ad-"vantage He ſhould give his Enemies, and the Dif-"honour He ſhould bring upon himſelf, by flying, "in having his Integrity condemned, if He had not "the Confidence to defend it." He ſaid, "He could "now appear, wherever He ſhould be required, with "an honeſt Countenance, and the Courage of an in-"nocent Man: But if He ſhould be apprehended in

But refuſes.

"

"a Diſguiſe running away, which He could not but "expect by the Vigilance of his Enemies (ſince He "could not make any Journey by Land, being at "that Time very weak and infirm), He ſhould be "very much out of Countenance, and ſhould be ex-"poſed to publick Scorn and Contempt. And if "He ſhould make his Eſcape into foreign Parts, "it would not be reaſonable to expect or imagine "that his Enemies, who had ſo far aliened the King's "Affection from him, and in Spite of his Innocence "prevailed thus far, would want Power to proſecute "the Advantage They ſhould get by his Flight, "which would be interpreted as a Confeſſion of his "Guilt; and thereupon They would procure ſuch "Proceedings in the Parliament, as might ruin both "his Fortune and his Fame."

HIS Friends, how unſatisfied ſoever with his Reſolution, acquieſced for the preſent, after having firſt prevailed with him to write himſelf to the King; which He did, though without any Hope that it would make any Impreſſion upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what Fountain, except the Power of the great Lady with the Conjunction of his known Enemies, which had been long without that Effect, that Fierceneſs of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure could proceed. He had, before this Storm fell upon him, been informed by a Perſon of Honour who knew the Truth of it, "that ſome "Perſons had perſuaded the King, *that the Chancellor* "*had a principal Hand in the Marriage of the Duke of* "Richmond, with which his Majeſty was offended "in the higheſt Degree: And the Lord *Berkley* had "reported it with all Confidence." Whereupon the Chancellor had expoſtulated with the Lord *Berkley*, whom He knew to be his ſecret Enemy, though no Man made more outward Profeſſions to him: But He denied He had reported any ſuch Thing. And then He took Notice to the King himſelf of the Diſcourſe, and deſired to know, "whether any ſuch

The King offended with him about the Duke of Richmond's *Marriage.*

"Story

" Story had been repreſented to his Majeſty, ſince " there was not the leaſt Shadow of Truth in it:" To which the King anſwered with ſome Dryneſs, " that " no ſuch Thing had been told to him." Yet now He was aſſured, " that that Buſineſs ſtuck moſt with " his Majeſty, and that from that Suggeſtion his Ene- " mies had gotten Credit to do him the worſt Offices; " and his Majeſty complained much of the Inſolence " with which He uſed to treat him in the Agitation " and Debate of Buſineſs, if He differed from him in " Opinion." Upon theſe Reaſons He writ this Letter in his own Hand to the King, which was delivered to him by the Lord Keeper, who was willing to perform that Office. The Letter was in theſe Words.

" MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty,"

His Letter to the King upon that Subject.

" I AM ſo broken under the daily inſupportable In- " ſtances of your Majeſty's terrible Diſpleaſure, that " I know not what to do, hardly what to wiſh. The " Crimes which are objected againſt me, how paſſion- " ately ſoever purſued, and with Circumſtances very " unuſual, do not in the leaſt Degree fright me. God " knows I am innocent in every Particular as I ought " to be; and I hope your Majeſty knows enough of " me to believe that I had never a violent Appetite for " Money, that could corrupt me. But alas! your " Majeſty's declared Anger and Indignation deprives " me of the Comfort and Support even of my own In- " nocence, and expoſes me to the Rage and Fury of " thoſe who have ſome Excuſe for being my Enemies; " whom I have ſometimes diſpleaſed, when (and on- " ly then) your Majeſty believed them not to be your " Friends. I hope They may be changed; I am ſure " I am not, but have the ſame Duty, Paſſion and Af- " fection for You, that I had when You thought it " moſt unqueſtionable, and which was and is as great " as ever Man had for any mortal Creature. I ſhould " die in Peace (and truly I do heartily wiſh that God " Almighty would free you from further Trouble, by

" taking

" taking me to himſelf), if I could know or gueſs at " the Ground of your Diſpleaſure, which I am ſure " muſt proceed from your believing, that I have ſaid " or done Somewhat I have neither ſaid nor done. If " it be for any Thing my Lord *Berkley* hath reported, " which I know He hath ſaid to many, though being " charged with it by me He did as poſitively diſclaim " it; I am as innocent in that whole Affair, and gave " no more Advice or Counſel or Countenance in it, " than the Child that is not born: Which your Ma- " jeſty ſeemed once to believe, when I took Notice to " you of the Report, and when You conſidered how " totally I was a Stranger to the Perſons mentioned, " to either of whom I never ſpake Word, or received " Meſſage from either in my Life. And this I proteſt " to your Majeſty is true, as I have Hope in Heaven: " And that I have never willfully offended your Ma- " jeſty in my Life, and do upon my Knees beg your " Pardon for any over-bold or ſaucy Expreſſions I have " ever uſed to you; which, being a natural Diſeaſe in " old Servants who have received too much Counte- " nance, I am ſure hath always proceeded from the " Zeal and Warmth of the moſt ſincere Affection and " Duty."

" I HOPE your Majeſty believes, that the ſharp " Chaſtiſement I have received from the beſt-natured " and moſt bountiful Maſter in the World, and whoſe " Kindneſs alone made my Condition theſe many Years " ſupportable, hath enough mortified me as to this " World; and that I have not the Preſumption or the " Madneſs to imagine or deſire ever to be admitted to " any Employment or Truſt again. But I do moſt " humbly beſeech your Majeſty by the Memory of " your Father, who recommended me to you with " ſome Teſtimony, and by your own gracious Reflec- " tion upon ſome one Service I may have performed " in my Life, that hath been acceptable to you; that " You will by your Royal Power and Interpoſition put " a Stop to this ſevere Proſecution againſt me, and

" that

"that my Concernment may give no longer Interrup-
"tion to the great Affairs of the Kingdom; but that
"I may ſpend the ſmall Remainder of my Life, which
"cannot hold long, in ſome Parts beyond the Seas,
"never to return; where I will pray for your Majeſty,
"and never ſuffer the leaſt Diminution in the Duty
"and Obedience of,

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"Your Majeſty's

"From my Houſe
"this 16th of *November*." "Moſt humble and moſt

"Obedient Subject and Servant,

"CLARENDON."

THE King was in his Cabinet when the Letter was delivered to him; which as ſoon as He had read, He burned in a Candle that was on the Table, and only ſaid "that there was Somewhat in it that He did not "underſtand, but that He wondered that the Chan-"cellor did not withdraw himſelf:" Of which the Keeper preſently advertiſed him, with his earneſt Advice that He would be gone.

The King expreſſes a Deſire of his withdrawing.

THE King's Diſcourſe was according to the Perſons with whom He conferred. To thoſe who were engaged in the violent Proſecution He ſpake with great Bitterneſs of him, repeating many particular Paſſages, in which He had ſhewed much Paſſion becauſe his Majeſty did not concur with him in what He adviſed. To thoſe who He knew were his Friends He mentioned him without any Bitterneſs, and with ſome Teſtimony of his having ſerved him long and uſefully, and as if He had Pity and Compaſſion for him: Yet "that "He wondered that He did not abſent himſelf, ſince "it could not but be very manifeſt to him and to all "his Friends, that it was not in his Majeſty's Power "to protect him againſt the Prejudice that was againſt "him in Both Houſes; which," He ſaid, "could not "but be increaſed by the Obſtruction his particular "Concernment gave to all publick Affairs in the Con-"juncture; in which," He ſaid, "He was ſure He

"would

"would prevail at laſt." All theſe Advertiſements could not prevail over the Chancellor for the Reaſons mentioned before; though He was very much afflicted at the Diviſion between the two Houſes, the evil Conſequence whereof He well underſtood, and could have been well content that the Lords would have conſented to his Impriſonment.

The Biſhop of Hereford *ſent to adviſe him to leave the Kingdom.*

THE Biſhop of *Hereford*, who had been very much obliged to the Chancellor, and throughout this whole Affair had behaved himſelf with very ſignal Ingratitude to him, and thereby got much Credit in the Court, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was known to be a faſt and unſhaken Friend to the Chancellor; and made him a long Diſcourſe of what the King had ſaid to him, and deſired him, "that He "would go with him to his Houſe;" which He preſently did, and, leaving him in a Room, went himſelf to the Chancellor, and told him what had paſſed from the Biſhop of *Hereford*, "who was in the next Room "to ſpeak with him, and would not in direct Words "to him acknowledge that He ſpake by the King's "Order or Approbation: But that He had confeſſed "ſo much to him with many Circumſtances, and that "the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Coventry* had been preſent." The Chancellor had no Mind to ſee or ſpeak with the Biſhop, who had carried himſelf ſo unworthily towards him, and might probably miſreport any Thing He ſhould ſay: But He was overruled by the other Biſhop; and ſo They went Both into the next Room to him.

THE Biſhop of *Hereford* in ſome Diſorder, as a Man conſcious to himſelf of ſome Want of Sincerity towards him, deſired "that He would believe that He would "not at that Time have come to him, with whom He "knew He was in ſome Umbrage, if it were not with "a Deſire to do him Service, and if He had not "a full Authority for whatſoever He ſaid to him." Then He enlarged himſelf in Diſcourſe more involved and perplexed, without any Mention of the King, or the

the Authority He had for what He ſhould ſay; the Care to avoid which was evidently the Cauſe of the Want of Clearneſs in all He ſaid. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſupplied it by relating all that He had ſaid to him: With which though He was not pleaſed, becauſe the King and others were named, yet He did not contradict it; but ſaid, "He did not ſay that He was "ſent by the King or ſpake by his Direction, only *that* "*He could not be ſo mad as to interpoſe in ſuch an Affair* "*without full Authority to make good all that He ſhould* "*promiſe.*" The Sum of all was, "that if the Chan- "cellor would withdraw himſelf into any Parts beyond "the Seas, to prevent the Miſchiefs that muſt befall "the Kingdom by the Diviſion and Difference between "the two Houſes; He would undertake upon his "Salvation," which was the Expreſſion He uſed more than once, "that He ſhould not be interrupted in his "Journey; and that after He ſhould be gone, He "ſhould not be in any Degree proſecuted, or ſuffer in "his Honour or Fortune by his Abſence."

Which He refuſes to do without receiving a Command from his Majeſty.

THE Chancellor told him, "that He well under- "ſtood what He muſt ſuffer by withdrawing himſelf, "and ſo declining the Trial, in which his Innocence "would ſecure him, and in the mean Time preſerve "him from being terrified with the Threats and Ma- "lice of his Enemies: However He would expoſe "himſelf to that Diſadvantage, if He received his "Majeſty's Commands to that Purpoſe, or if He had "but a clear Evidence that his Majeſty did wiſh it, as "a Thing that He thought might advance his Ser- "vice. But without that Aſſurance, which He might re- "ceive many Ways which could not be taken Notice of, "He could not with his Honour or Diſcretion give his "implacable Enemies that Advantage againſt him, "when his Friends ſhould be able to allege Nothing in "his Defence."

THE Biſhop replied, "that He was not allowed to "ſay, that his Majeſty required or wiſhed it, but "that He could not be ſo mad as to undertake what

"He

"He had promiſed, without ſufficient Warrant;" and repeated again what He had formerly ſaid. To which the other anſwered, "that the Vigilance and Power "of his Enemies was well known: And that though "the King might in Truth wiſh that He were ſafe on "the other Side of the Sea, and give no Direction to "interrupt or trouble him in his Journey; yet that it "was liable to many Accidents in Reſpect of his Weak-"neſs and Infirmity," which was ſo great at that Time, that He could not walk without being ſupported by one or two; ſo that He could not be diſguiſed to any Body that had ever known him. Beſides that the Pain He was already in, and the Seaſon of the Year, made him apprehend, that the Gout might ſo ſeize upon him within two or three Days, that He might not be able to move: And ſo the Malice of thoſe who wiſhed his Deſtruction might very probably find an Opportunity, without or againſt the King's Conſent, to apprehend and caſt him into Priſon, as a Fugitive from the Hand of Juſtice. For the Prevention of all which, which no Man could blame him for apprehending, He propoſed, "that He might have a Paſs from the "King, which He would not produce but in ſuch an "Exigent: And would uſe all the Providence He "could, to proceed with that Secrecy that his Depar-"ture ſhould not be taken Notice of; but if it were, "He muſt not be without ſuch a Protection, to pre-"ſerve him from the preſent Indignities to which He "muſt be liable, though poſſibly it would not protect "him from the Diſpleaſure of the Parliament." The Biſhop thought this Propoſition to be reaſonable, and ſeemed confident that He ſhould procure the Paſs: And ſo that Conference ended.

THE next Day the Biſhop ſent Word, "that the "King could not grant the Paſs, becauſe if it ſhould be "known, by what Accident ſoever, it would much in-"cenſe the Parliament: But that He might as ſecurely "go as if He had a Paſs;" which moved no farther with him, than his former Undertaking had done.

Nor could the Importunity of his Children, or the Advice of his Friends, perſuade him to depart from his Reſolution.

The French *Ambaſſadour urges him to retire to* France.

About the Time of the Chancellor's Diſgrace, *Monſieur Ruvigny* arrived at *London* as Envoy Extraordinary from the *French* King, and came the next Day after the Seal was taken from him. He was a Perſon well known to the Court, and particularly to the Chancellor, with whom He had been formerly aſſigned to treat upon Affairs of Moment, being of the Religion and very nearly allied to the late Earl of *Southampton*. And as theſe Conſiderations were the chief Motives that He was made Choice of for the preſent Employment, ſo the chief Part of his Inſtructions was to apply himſelf to the Chancellor, through whoſe Hands it was known that the whole Treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the Preliminaries with *France*, had entirely paſſed. When He found that the Conduct of Affairs was quite changed, and that the Chancellor came not to the Court, He knew not what to do, but immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *France* for farther Inſtructions. He deſired to ſpeak with the Chancellor; which He refuſed, and likewiſe to receive the Letters which He had brought for him and offered to ſend to him, all which He deſired might be delivered to the King. When the Proceedings in Parliament went ſo high, *Ruvigny*, who had at all Hours Admiſſion to the King, and intimate Converſation with the Lord *Arlington*, and ſo eaſily diſcovered the extreme Prejudice and Malice that was contracted againſt the Chancellor, ſent him frequent Advertiſements of what was neceſſary for him to know, and with all poſſible Earneſtneſs adviſed him, when the Diviſions grew ſo high in the Houſes, "that He would withdraw and retire into "*France*, where", He aſſured him, "He would find "himſelf very welcome." All which prevailed no more with him than the reſt. And ſo another Week paſſed after the Biſhop's Propoſition, with the ſame Paſſion in the Houſes: And Endeavours were uſed to

Which He declines.

incenſe

incenſe the People, as if the Lords obſtructed the Proceeding of Juſtice againſt the Chancellor by refuſing to commit him; and Mr. *Seymour* told the Lord *Aſhley*, "that the People would pull down the Chancel-"lor's Houſe firſt, and then thoſe of all the Lords who "adhered to him."

At length the King ſends to him to withdraw.

BY this Time the Duke of *York* recovered ſo faſt, that the King, being aſſured by the Phyſicians that there would be no Danger of Infection, went on Saturday Morning, the twenty ninth of *November*, to viſit him: And being alone together, his Majeſty bade him "adviſe the Chancellor to be gone," and blamed him that He had not given Credit to what the Biſhop of *Hereford* had ſaid to him. The King had no ſooner left the Duke, but his Highneſs ſent for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and bade him tell the Chancellor from him, "that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him "ſpeedily to be gone, and that He had the King's "Word for all that had been undertaken by the Bi-"ſhop of *Hereford*."

He unwillingly obeys, and leaves the Kingdom.

AS ſoon as the Chancellor received this Advice and Command, He reſolved with great Reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very Night: And having, by the Friendſhip of Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, cauſed the Farmers Boat to wait for him at *Erith*, as ſoon as it was dark He took Coach at his Houſe *Saturday* Night, the twenty ninth of *November* 1667, with two Servants only. And being accompanied with his two Sons and two or three other Friends on Horſeback as far as *Erith*, He found the Boat ready; and ſo embarked about eleven of the Clock that Night, the Wind indifferently good: But before Midnight it changed, and carried him back almoſt as far as He had advanced. And in this Perplexity He remained three Days and Nights before He arrived at *Calais*, which was not a Port choſen by him, all Places out of *England* being indifferent, and *France* not being his Inclination, becauſe of the Reproach and Calumny that was caſt upon him: But ſince it was the firſt that offered

He lands at Calais.

itſelf, and it was not ſeaſonable to affect another, He was very glad to diſembark there, and to find himſelf ſafe on Shore.

ALL theſe Particulars, of which many may ſeem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought neceſſary to be related, it being a principal Part of his Vindication for going away, and not inſiſting upon his Innocence; which at that Time made a greater Impreſſion upon many worthy Perſons to his Diſadvantage, than any Particular that was contained in the Charge that had been offered to the Houſe. And therefore though He forbore, when all the Promiſes were broken which had been made to him, and his Enemies Malice and Inſolence increaſed by his Abſence, to publiſh or in the leaſt Degree to communicate the true Ground and Reaſons of abſenting himſelf, to avoid any Inconvenience that in ſo captious a Seaſon might thereby have befallen the King's Service; yet it cannot be thought unreaſonable to preſerve this Memorial of all the Circumſtances, as well as the ſubſtantial Reaſons, which diſpoſed him to make that Flight, for the clear Information of thoſe, who in a fit Seaſon may underſtand his Innocence without any Inconvenience to his Majeſty, of whoſe Goodneſs and Honour and Juſtice it may be hoped, that his Majeſty himſelf will give his own Teſtimony, both of this Particular of his withdrawing, and a Vindication of his Innocence from all the other Reproaches with which it was aſperſed.

An Inſtance of his generous Behaviour to his Enemies.

I WILL not omit one other Particular, for the Manifeſtation of the Inequality that was between the Nature of the Chancellor and of his Enemies, and upon what Diſadvantage He was to contend with them. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, when it was well known that the Combination was entered into by the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* againſt the Chancellor, ſeveral Members of the Houſe informed him of what They did and what They ſaid, and told him, "that there was but one Way to prevent the "Prejudice intended towards him, which was by fall-

"ing

"ing firſt upon them; which They would cauſe to be
"done, if He would aſſiſt them with ſuch Informa-
"tion as it could not but be in his Power to do. That
"They were Both very odious generally: The one for
"his inſolent Carriage towards all Men, and for the
"Manner of his getting into that Office by diſpoſſeſs-
"ing an old faithful Servant, who was forced to part
"with it for a very good Recompenſe of ten thouſand
"Pounds in Money and other Releaſes and Grants,
"which was paid and made by the King to introduce
"a Secretary of very mean Parts, and without Induſtry
"to improve them, and one who was generally ſuſ-
(8) "pected to be a Papiſt, or without any Religion at
"all; it being generally taken Notice of, that He was
"rarely ſeen in a Church, and never known to receive
"the Communion. The other was known by his cor-
"rupt Behaviour, and ſelling all the Offices in the
"Fleet and Navy for incredible Sums of Money, and
"thereby introducing Men, who had been moſt em-
"ployed and truſted by *Cromwell*, into the ſeveral Of-
"fices; whilſt loyal and faithful Seamen who had al-
"ways adhered to the King, and many of them con-
"tinued in his Service abroad and till his Return into
"*England*, could not be admitted into any Employ-
"ment: The ill Conſequence of which to the King's
"Service was very notorious, by the daily manifeſt
"ſtealing and embezzling the Stores of Ammunition,
"Cordage, Sails and other Tackling, which were
"commonly ſold again to the King at great Prices.
"And when the Perſons guilty of this were taken No-
"tice of and apprehended, They talked loudly of the
"Sums They had paid for their Offices, which obliged
"them to thoſe Frauds: And that it might not be
"more notorious, They were, by Sir *William Coven-*
"*try's* great Power and Intereſt, never proceeded
"againſt, or removed from their Offices and Em-
"ployments."

THEY told him, "that He never ſaid or did any
"Thing in the moſt ſecret Council, where They two

"were always preſent, and where there were frequent "Occaſions of mentioning the Proceedings of Both "Houſes, and the Behaviour of ſeveral Members in "Both, but thoſe Gentlemen declared the ſame, and "all that He ſaid or did, to thoſe who would be moſt "offended and incenſed by it, and who were like in "ſome Conjuncture to be able to do him moſt Miſ-"chief: And by thoſe ill Arts They had irreconciled "many Perſons to him. And that if He would now, "without its being poſſible to be taken Notice of, give "them ſuch Information and Light into the Proceed-"ings of thoſe Gentlemen, They would undertake to "divert the Storm that threatened him, and cauſe it "to fall upon the others." And this was with much Earneſtneſs preſſed to him, not only before the Meeting of the Parliament, and when He was fully informed of the ill Arts and ungentlemanly Practice thoſe two Perſons were engaged in to do him Hurt, but after the Houſe of Commons was incenſed againſt him; with a full Aſſurance, "that They were much inclined "to have accuſed the other two, if the leaſt Occaſion "was given for it."

But the Chancellor would not be prevailed with, ſaying, "that no Provocation or Example ſhould diſ-"poſe him to do any Thing that would not become "him: That They were Both Privy Counſellors, and "truſted by the King in his moſt weighty Affairs; and "if He diſcerned any Thing amiſs in them, He could "inform the King of it. But the aſperſing or accuſing "them any where elſe was not his Part to do, nor could "it be done by any without ſome Reflection upon the "King and Duke, who would be much offended at it: "And therefore He adviſed them in no Degree to "make any ſuch Attempt on his Behalf; but to leave "him to the Protection of his own Innocence and of "God's good Pleaſure, and thoſe Gentlemen to their "own Fate, which at ſome Time would humble them." And it is known to many Perſons, and poſſibly to the King himſelf, for whoſe Service only that Office was

per-

performed, that one or Both thoſe Perſons had before that Time been impeached, if the Chancellor's ſole Induſtry and Intereſt had not diverted and prevented it.

WHEN the Chancellor found it neceſſary, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, to withdraw himſelf, He thought it as neceſſary to leave ſome Addreſs to the Houſe of Peers, and to make as good an Excuſe as He could (659) for his Abſence without aſking their Leave; which ſhould be delivered to them by ſome Member of their Body (there being many of them ready to perform that civil Office for him), when his Abſence ſhould be known, or ſome Evidence that He was ſafely arrived on the other Side of the Sea. And that Time being come (for the Packet Boat was ready to depart when the Chancellor landed at *Calais*), the Earl of *Denbigh* ſaid, "He had an Addreſs to the Houſe from the "Earl of *Clarendon*, which He deſired might be read;" which contained theſe Words.

The Chancellor's Apology to the Houſe of Lords for withdrawing.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled; the humble Petition and Addreſs of Edward *Earl of* Clarendon.

"May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,"

I CANNOT expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and "Grief of Mind I ſuſtain, under the Apprehenſion of "being miſrepreſented to your Lordſhips; and when "I hear how much of your Lordſhips Time hath "been ſpent upon my poor Concern (though it be of "no leſs than of my Life and Fortune), and of the Dif-"ferences in Opinion which have already or may pro-"bably ariſe between your Lordſhips and the honour-"able Houſe of Commons; whereby the great and "weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obſtructed "in a Time of ſo general a Diſſatisfaction."

"I AM very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer ſo "much under two very diſadvantageous Reflections, "which are in no Degree applicable to me: The firſt, "from the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, col-

"lected

"lected and made in ſo few Years; which, if it be "proportionable to what is reported, may very reaſon- "ably cauſe my Integrity to be ſuſpected. The ſecond, "that I have been the ſole Manager and chief Miniſter "in all the Tranſactions of State ſince the King's Re- "turn into *England* to *Auguſt* laſt; and therefore that "all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be im- "puted to me, and to my Counſels."

"CONCERNING my Eſtate, your Lordſhips will not "believe, that after Malice and Envy hath been ſo "inquiſitive, and is ſo ſharpſighted, I will offer any "Thing to your Lordſhips but what is exactly true: "And I do aſſure your Lordſhips in the firſt Place, "that, excepting from the King's Bounty, I have ne- "ver received or taken one Penny, but what was ge- "nerally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perqui- "ſites of my Office by the conſtant Practice of the "beſt Times, which I did in my own Judgment con- "ceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry* and my Lord "*Elleſmere*, the Practice of which I conſtantly ob- "ſerved; although the Office in Both their Times was "lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I "believe now is."

"THAT all the Courteſies and Favours, which "I have been able to obtain from the King for "other Perſons in Church or State or in *Weſtminſter-* "*Hall*, have never been worth me five Pound: So that "your Lordſhips may be confident I am as innocent "from Corruption, as from any diſloyal Thought; "which, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown "in ſome Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, I did never ſuſ- "pect would have been objected to me in my Age."

"THAT I am at preſent indebted about three or four "and twenty thouſand Pounds, for which I pay Inte- "reſt; the Particulars whereof I ſhall be ready to offer "to your Lordſhips, and for which I have aſſigned "Lands and Leaſes to be ſold, though at preſent No- "body will buy or ſell with me. That I am ſo far "from having Money, that from the Time the Seal was

"taken

"taken from me I have lived upon the coining ſome
(60) "ſmall Parcels of Plate, which have ſuſtained me and
"my Family, all my Rents being withheld from me."

"THAT my Eſtate, my Debts being paid, will not "yield me two thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, for the "Support of myſelf, and providing for two young "Children, who have Nothing: And that all I have "is not worth what the King in his Bounty hath be-"ſtowed upon me, his Majeſty having out of his "Royal Bounty, within few Months after his coming "into *England*, at one Time beſtowed upon me twenty "thouſand Pounds in ready Money, without the leaſt "Motion or Imagination of mine; and, ſhortly after "another Sum of Money, amounting to ſix thouſand "Pounds or thereabouts, out of *Ireland*, which ought "to have amounted to a much greater Proportion, and "of which I never heard Word, till Notice was given "me by the Earl of *Orrery* that there was ſuch a Sum "of Money for me. His Majeſty likewiſe aſſigned "me after the firſt Year of his Return an annual Sup-"ply towards my Support, which did but defray "my Expenſes, the certain Profits of my Office "not amounting to above two thouſand Pounds a "Year or thereabouts, and the Perquiſites not very "conſiderable and very uncertain: So that the ſaid ſe-"veral Sums of Money, and ſome Parcels of Land "his Majeſty beſtowed upon me, are worth more than "all I have amounts to. So far I am from advancing "my Eſtate by any indirect Means. And though this "Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded my "Merit or my Expectation; yet ſome others have been "as fortunate at leaſt in the ſame Bounty, who had as "ſmall Pretences to it, and have no great Reaſon to "envy my good Fortune."

"CONCERNING the other Imputation, of the Credit "and Power of being chief Miniſter, and ſo cauſing all "to be done that I had a Mind to; I have no more to "ſay, than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a "Maſter of a very great Judgment and Underſtand-

"ing,

" ing, and to be always joined with Perſons of great " Ability and Experience, without whoſe Advice and " Concurrence never any Thing hath been done. Be- " fore his Majeſty's coming into *England*, He was " conſtantly attended by the then Marquis of *Ormond*, " the late Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*; " who were equally truſted with myſelf, and without " whoſe joint Advice and Concurrence, when They " were all preſent (as ſome of them always were), I " never gave any Counſel."

" As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty " into *England*, He eſtabliſhed his Privy Council, and " ſhortly out of them a Number of honourable Per- " ſons of great Reputation, who for the moſt Part are " ſtill alive, as a Committee for foreign Affairs, and " Conſideration of ſuch Things as in the Nature of " them required much Secrecy; and with theſe Per- " ſons He vouchſafed to join me. And I am confi- " dent this Committee never tranſacted any Thing of " Moment, his Majeſty being always preſent, without " preſenting the ſame firſt to the Council-Board: And " I muſt appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and " whether We were not all of one Mind in all Matters " of Importance. For more than two Years I never " knew any Difference in the Councils, or that there " were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I " wholly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and " the entire Concurrence of his Council, without the " Vanity of aſſuming any Thing to myſelf: And " therefore I hope I ſhall not be ſingly charged with " any Thing that hath ſince fallen out amiſs. But " from the Time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was re- " moved from his Place there were great Alterations; " and whoſoever knows any Thing of the Court or " Councils, knows well how much my Credit ſince that " Time hath been diminiſhed, though his Majeſty " graciouſly vouchſafed ſtill to hear my Advice in " moſt of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from " that Time to this, above one or two Perſons brought

" to

"to the Council, or preferred to any conſiderable Of-
"fice in the Court, who have been of my intimate
"Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any Kindneſs for
"me; and many of them notoriouſly known to have
"been very long my Enemies, and of different Judg-
"ment and Principles from me both in Church and
"State, and who have taken all Opportunities to
"leſſen my Credit to the King, and with all other
"Perſons, by miſrepreſenting and miſreporting all that
"I ſaid or did, and perſuading Men that I had done
"them ſome Prejudice with his Majeſty, or croſſed
"them in ſome of their Pretences; though his Majeſ-
"ty's Goodneſs and Juſtice was ſuch, that it made
"little Impreſſion upon him."

"IN my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of
"the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to
"which it is notoriouſly known that I was always
"averſe; and may without Vanity ſay, I did not only
"foreſee but did declare the Miſchiefs We ſhould run
"into, by entering into a War before any Alliance
"made with the neighbour Princes. And that it may
"not be imputed to his Majeſty's Want of Care, or
"the Negligence of his Counſellors, that no ſuch Al-
"liances were entered into; I muſt take the Boldneſs
"to ſay, that his Majeſty left Nothing unattempted in
"Order thereunto: And knowing very well, that
"*France* reſolved to begin a War upon *Spain*, as ſoon
"as his *Catholick* Majeſty ſhould depart this World
"(which being much ſooner expected by them, They
"had two Winters before been at great Charge in
"providing plentiful Magazines of all Proviſion up-
"on the Frontiers, that They might be ready for the
"War), his Majeſty uſed all poſſible Means to prepare
"and diſpoſe the *Spaniard* to that Apprehenſion, of-
"fering his Friendſhip to that Degree, as might be
"for the Security and Benefit of Both Crowns. But
"*Spain* flattering itſelf with an Opinion that *France*
"would not break with them, at leaſt, that They
"would not give them any Cauſe by adminiſtering
"Matter

"Matter of Jealouſy to them, never made any real "Approach towards a Friendſhip with his Majeſty; "but both by their Ambaſſadour here, and to his "Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at *Madrid*, always inſiſted, "as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*."

"THOUGH *France* had an Ambaſſadour here, to "whom a Project for a Treaty was offered, and the "Lord *Hollis*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at *Paris*, "uſed all Endeavours to promote and proſecute the "ſaid Treaty; yet it was quickly diſcerned, that the "principal Deſign of *France* was to draw his Ma"jeſty into ſuch a nearer Alliance as might ad"vance their Deſigns; without which They had no "Mind to enter into the Treaty propoſed. And this "was the State of Affairs when the War was entered "into with the *Dutch*, from which Time neither "Crown much conſidered their making an Alliance "with *England*."

"AS I did from my Soul abhor the entering into "this War, ſo I never preſumed to give any Advice "or Counſel for the Way of managing it, but by op"poſing many Propoſitions which ſeemed to the late "Lord Treaſurer and myſelf to be unreaſonable, as "the Payment of the Seamen by Tickets, and many "other Particulars which added to the Expenſe. My "Enemies took all Occaſions to inveigh againſt me: "And making Friendſhips with others out of the "Council of more licentious Principles, and who "knew well enough how much I diſliked and com"plained of the Liberty They took to themſelves of "reviling all Councils and Counſellors, and turning "all Things ſerious and ſacred into Ridicule; They "took all Ways imaginable to render me ingrateful "to all Sorts of Men (whom I ſhall be compelled to "name in my own Defence), perſuading thoſe who "miſcarried in any of their Deſigns, that it was the "Chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any "Thing. However They could not withdraw the

"King's

"King's Favour from me, who was ſtill pleaſed to "uſe my Service with others; nor was there ever any "Thing done but upon the joint Advice of at leaſt "the major Part of thoſe who were conſulted with. "And as his Majeſty commanded my Service in the "late Treaties, ſo I never gave the leaſt Advice in "private, nor writ one Letter to any Perſon in either "of thoſe Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the "Council, and after it was read in Council, or at leaſt "by the King himſelf and ſome others: And if I pre- "pared any Inſtructions or Memorials, it was by the "King's Command, and the Requeſt of the Secretaries, "who deſired my Aſſiſtance. Nor was it any Wiſh "of my own, that any Ambaſſadours ſhould give me "an Account of the Tranſactions, but to the Secre- "taries, with whom I was always ready to adviſe; nor "am I conſcious to myſelf of having ever given Ad- "vice that hath proved miſchievous or inconvenient to "his Majeſty. And I have been ſo far from being "the ſole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the "whole laſt Year been above twice with his Majeſty "in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or "three Years preceding. And ſince the Parliament "at *Oxford*, it hath been very viſible that my Credit "hath been very little, and that very few Things have "been hearkened to which have been propoſed by me, "but contradicted *eo Nomine*, becauſe propoſed by me."

"I MOST humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to re- "member the Office and Truſt I had for ſeven Years; "in which, in Diſcharge of my Duty, I was obliged "to ſtop and obſtruct many Men's Pretences, and to "refuſe to ſet the Seal to many Pardons and other "Grants, which would have been profitable to thoſe "who procured them, and many whereof, upon my "Repreſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtop- "ped; which naturally have raiſed many Enemies to "me. And my frequent concurring with the late "Lord Treaſurer, with whom I had the Honour to "have a long and a faſt Friendſhip to his Death, in re-

"preſenting

"preſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Exorbitances (the "yearly Iſſues ſo far exceeding the Revenue), provoked "many Perſons concerned, of great Power and Cre- "dit, to do me all the ill Offices They could. And "yet I may faithfully ſay, that I never meddled with "any Part of the Revenue or the Adminiſtration of "it, but when I was deſired by the late Lord Trea- "ſurer to give him my Aſſiſtance and Advice (having "had the Honour formerly to ſerve the Crown as "Chancellor of the Exchequer), which was for the "moſt Part in his Majeſty's Preſence: Nor have I "ever been in the leaſt Degree concerned in Point of "Profit in the letting any Part of his Majeſty's Reve- "nue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his "Majeſty's Preſence; in which, my Opinion con- "curred always with the major Part of the Counſellors "who were preſent. All which, upon Examination, "will be made manifeſt to your Lordſhips, how much "ſoever my Integrity is blaſted by the Malice of thoſe, "who I am confident do not believe themſelves. Nor "have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties or other- "wiſe, received the Value of one Shilling from all the "Kings and Princes in the World (except the Books "of the *Louvre* Print ſent me by the Chancellor of "*France* by that King's Direction), but from my own "Maſter; to whoſe entire Service, and to the Good "and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was "ever more devoted."

"THIS being my preſent Condition, I do moſt "humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to retain a favour- "able Opinion of me, and to believe me to be inno- "cent from thoſe foul Aſperſions, until the Contrary "ſhall be proved; which I am ſure can never be by "any Man worthy to be believed. And ſince the "Diſtemper of the Time, and the Difference between "the two Houſes in the preſent Debate, with the "Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, "that I ſhall prevail with his Majeſty to prorogue or "diſſolve this Parliament in Diſpleaſure, and threaten

"to

"to expoſe me to the Rage and Fury of the People, "may make me looked upon as the Cauſe which ob- "ſtructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace "of the Kingdom; I muſt humbly beſeech your "Lordſhips, that I may not forfeit your Lordſhips "Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myſelf from "ſo powerful a Perſecution; in Hopes I may be able, "by ſuch withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make "my Defence; when his Majeſty's Juſtice, to which "I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed nor "controlled by the Power and Malice of thoſe who "have ſworn my Deſtruction."

THE Chancellor knew very well, that there were Members enough in Both Houſes who would be very glad to take any Advantage of his Words and Expreſſions: And therefore as He weighed them the beſt He could himſelf in the ſhort Time from which He took his Reſolution to be gone; ſo He conſulted with as many Friends as that Time would allow, to the End that their Jealouſy and Warineſs might better watch, that no Expreſſion might be liable to a ſiniſter Interpretation, than his own Paſſion and Indiſpoſition could provide. And as They all thought it neceſſary that He ſhould leave Somewhat behind him, that might offer an Excuſe for his Abſence; ſo They did not conceive, that the Words before mentioned could give any Offence to equal Judges. But the leaſt Variety or Change of Wind moved thoſe Waters to wonderful Diſtempers and Tempeſts.

THIS Addreſs was no ſooner read, by which They perceived He was gone, but They who had contributed moſt to the abſenting himſelf, and were privy to all the Promiſes which had invited him to it, ſeemed much troubled that He had eſcaped their Juſtice; and moved, "that Orders might be forthwith ſent to ſtop "the Ports, that ſo He might be apprehended;" when They well knew that He was landed at *Calais*. Others took Exceptions at ſome Expreſſions, "which,"

They

They ſaid, "reflected upon the King's Honour and "Juſtice:" Others moved, "that it might be entered "in their Journal-Book, to the End that They might "farther conſider of it when They ſhould think fit;" and this was ordered.

THE Houſes till this Time had continued obſtinate in their ſeveral Reſolutions; the Commons every Day preſſing, "that He might be committed upon "their general Accuſation of Treaſon" (for though They had amongſt themſelves and from their Committee offered thoſe Particulars which are mentioned before, yet They preſented none to the Houſe of Peers); and the Lords as poſitively refuſing to commit him, till ſome Charge ſhould be preſented againſt him that amounted to Treaſon. But now all that Debate was at an End by his being out of their Reach, ſo that They purſued that Point no farther; which, being Matter of Privilege, ſhould have been determined as neceſſarily as before, for the Prevention of the like Diſputes hereafter. But the Commons wiſely declined that Contention, well knowing that their Party in the Houſe, that was very paſſionate for the Commitment of the Chancellor, would be as much againſt the general Order as any of the reſt had been: And the Lords ſatisfied themſelves with ſending a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, "that They "found by the Addreſs which They had received that "Morning, and which They likewiſe imparted to "them, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had withdrawn "himſelf; and ſo there was no farther Occaſion of "Debate upon that Point."

The Apology burned by Order of Both Houſes.

THE Addreſs was no ſooner read in that Houſe, but They who had induſtriouſly promoted the former Reſolution were inflamed, as if this very Inſtrument would contribute enough to any Thing that was wanting; and They ſeverally arraigned it, and inveighed againſt the Perſon who had ſent it with all imaginable Bitterneſs and Inſolence: Whilſt others, who could not in the hearing it read obſerve that Malignity

that

that it was accuſed of, ſate ſtill and ſilent, as if They ſuſpected that Somewhat had eſcaped their Obſervations and Diſcovery, that ſo much tranſported other Men; or becauſe They were well pleaſed that a Perſon, againſt whom there was ſo much Malice and Fury profeſſed, was got out of their Reach. In Concluſion, after long Debate it was concluded, "that "the Paper contained much Untruth and Scandal and "Sedition in it, and that it ſhould be publickly burned "by the Hand of the Hangman;" which Vote They preſently ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence, who, though They had not obſerved any ſuch Guilt in it before, would maintain no further Conteſts with them, and ſo concurred in the Sentence: And the poor Paper was accordingly with Solemnity executed by the appointed Officer, which made the more People inquiſitive into the Contents of it; and having gotten Copies of it, They took upon them to cenſure the Thing and the Perſon with much more Clemency and Compaſſion, and thought He had done well to decline ſuch angry Judges.

WHEN the Chancellor found himſelf at *Calais*, He was unreſolved how to diſpoſe of himſelf, only that He would not go to *Paris*, againſt which He was able to make many Objections: And in this Irreſolution He knew not how to ſend any Directions to his Children in *England*, to what Place They ſhould ſend his Servants and ſuch other Accommodations as He ſhould want; and therefore ſtayed there till He might be better informed, and know Somewhat of the Temper of the Parliament. In the mean Time He writ Letters to the Earl of *St. Albans* at *Paris*, from whoſe very late Profeſſions He had Reaſon to expect Civility, and that was all He did expect; never imagining that He ſhould receive any Grace from the Queen, or that it was fit for him to caſt himſelf at her Feet, whilſt He was in his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure. Only He deſired to know, "whether there would be any Objection againſt "his coming to *Roan*," and deſiring, "if there were "no

The Chancellor writes to the French *Court for Leave to remove to* Roan.

"no Objection againſt it, that a Coach might be "hired to meet him on ſuch a Day at *Abbeville*." The Lieutenant Governour of *Calais* had, upon his firſt Arrival there, given Advertiſement to the Court of it: And by the ſame Poſt that He received a very dry Letter from the Earl of *St. Albans*, in which He ſaid, "He thought that Court would approve of his com- "ing to *Roan*;" He received likewiſe a Letter of great Civility from the Count *De Louvois*, Secretary of State, in which He congratulated his ſafe Arrival in *France*, and told him, "that his Majeſty was well pleaſed with "it, and with his Purpoſe of coming to *Roan*, where "He ſhould find himſelf very welcome." At the ſame Time Letters were ſent to the Lieutenant Governour of *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and *Montrevil*, "to treat him as "a Perſon of whom the King had Eſteem, and to "give him ſuch an Eſcorte as might make his Jour- "ney ſecure;" of all which He received Advertiſement, and "that a Coach would be ready at *Abbeville* "to wait for him at the Day He had appointed."

Which is granted.

He begins his Journey.

And now He thought He might well take his Reſolution; and thereupon gave Direction, "that ſuch "of his Family, whoſe Attendance He could not be "well without, might with all Expedition be with "him at *Roan*; and ſuch Monies might be likewiſe "returned thither for him, as were neceſſary," for He had not brought with him Supply enough for long Time. And ſo He provided to leave *Calais*, that He might be warm in his Winter-Quarters as ſoon as might be, which both the Seaſon of the Year, it being now within few Days of *Chriſtmas*, and his Expectation of a ſpeedy Defluxion of the Gout, made very requiſite. When He came to *Boulogne*, He found Orders from the Marſhal *D'Aumont* to his Lieutenant for a Guard to *Montrevil*, the *Spaniſh* Garriſons making frequent Incurſions into thoſe Quarters: And at *Montrevil* the Duke *D'Elboeuf* viſited him, and invited him to Supper, which the Chancellor was ſo much tired with his Journey that He accepted not; but was not

ſuffered

ſuffered to refuſe his Coach the next Day to *Abbeville*, where He found a Coach from *Paris* ready to carry him to *Roan*.

IT was *Chriſtmas* Eve when He came to *Dieppe*, and it was a long Journey the next Day to *Roan*; which made him ſend to the Governour, to deſire that the Ports might be open much ſooner than their Hour, which was granted: So that He came to a very ill Inn well known at *Toſtes*, near the middle Way to *Roan*, about Noon. And when He was within View of that Place, a Gentleman, paſſing by in a good Gallop with a Couple of Servants, aſked, "whether the Chancellor "of *England* was in that Coach;" and being anſwered, "that He was," He alighted at the Coach-Side, and gave him a Letter from the King, which contained only Credit to what that Gentleman, *Monſieur Le Fonde*, his Servant in Ordinary, ſhould ſay to him from his Majeſty. The Gentleman, after ſome Expreſſions of his Majeſty's Grace and good Opinion, told him, "that the King had lately received Advertiſement from "his Envoy in *England*, *that the Parliament there was* "*ſo much incenſed againſt him, the Chancellor, that if* "*He ſhould be ſuffered to ſtay in* France, *it would be ſo* "*prejudicial to the Affairs of his* Chriſtian *Majeſty* (to "whom He was confident the Chancellor wiſhed well), "*that it might make a Breach between the two Crowns:* "And therefore He deſired him to make what Speed "He could out of his Dominions; and that He might "want no Accommodation for his Journey, that Gen-"tleman was to accompany him till He ſaw him out "of *France*."

But receives on the Way Orders to leave France *inſtantly.*

HE was marvellouſly ſtruck with this Encounter, which He looked not for, nor could reſolve what to do, being at Liberty to make his Journey which Way He would ſo He reſted not, which was the only Thing He deſired: So He deſired the Gentleman (for all his Converſation was in the Highway) "to come into the "Coach, and to accompany him to *Roan*, where They "would confer farther." The Gentleman, though

He was a very civil Perſon, ſeemed to think that it would be better to return to *Dieppe*, and ſo to *Calais*, as the ſhorteſt Way out of *France:* But He had no Commiſſion to urge that, and ſo condeſcended to go that Night to *Roan*; with a Declaration, "that it was "neceſſary for him to be the next Day very early in "the Coach, which Way ſoever He intended to make "his Journey."

It was late in the Night before They reached *Roan:* And the Coach was overthrown three Times in the Centleman's Sight, who choſe to ride his Horſe; ſo that the Chancellor was really hurt and bruiſed, and ſcarce able to ſet his Foot to the Ground. And therefore He told the Gentleman plainly, "that He could not make "any Journey the next Day: But that He would pre-

He repreſents his ill State of Health to the Court.

"ſently write to *Paris* to a Friend, who ſhould inform "the King of the ill Condition He was in, and deſire "ſome Time of Reſt; and that as ſoon as He had fi- (460
"niſhed his Letter, He would ſend an Expreſs with "it, who ſhould make all poſſible Haſte in going and "coming." *Monſieur Le Fonde* aſſured him, "the "Matter was ſo fully reſolved, that no Writing would "procure any Time to ſtay in *France*; and therefore "deſired him to haſten his Journey, which Way ſo-"ever He intended it." But when He ſaw there was no Remedy, He likewiſe writ to the Court, and the Chancellor to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from whom He thought He ſhould receive Offices of Humanity, and to another Friend, upon whoſe Affection He more depended: And with thoſe Letters the Expreſs was diſpatched.

The Occaſion of his ill Treatment in France.

They who had prevailed ſo far againſt him in *England* were not yet ſatisfied, but contrived thoſe Ways to diſquiet him as much in *France*, by telling *Monſieur Ruvigny* (who was too eaſily diſpoſed to believe them), "that the Parliament was ſo much offended with the "Chancellor, that it would never conſent that the "King ſhould enter into a cloſe and firm Alliance with "*France*," which it was his Buſineſs to ſolicit, "whilſt

"He

"He ſhould be permitted to ſtay within that King-"dom:" When in Truth all the Malice againſt him was contained within the Breaſts of few Men, who by incenſing the King, and infuſing many falſe and groundleſs Relations into him, drew ſuch a numerous Party to contribute to their Ends.

Proceedings againſt him in England.

When He was now gone, They obſerved to the King, "what a great Faction there was in Both Houſes that "adhered to the Chancellor," who were called *Clarendonians*; and when any Oppoſition was made to any Thing that was propoſed, as frequently there was, "it was "always done by the *Clarendonians:*" Whoſe Condition They thought was not deſperate enough, except They proceeded farther than was yet done. They laboured with all their Power, that He might be attainted of High Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and that Both his Sons might be removed from the Court: Both which, notwithſtanding all their Importunity, his Majeſty poſitively refuſed to conſent to. Then They told him, "that the Chancellor only waited the Seaſon that the "Parliament ſhould be confirmed in ill Humour, to "which They were inclined; and then He would re-"turn and ſit in the Houſe to diſturb all their Coun-"ſels, and obſtruct all his Service: And therefore "They propoſed, ſince He had fled from the Hand "of Juſtice, that there could be no more Proſecution "for his Guilt" (which was untrue, for They might as well have proceeded and proved the Crimes objected againſt him if They could), "a Bill of Ba-"niſhment," which They had prepared, "might be "brought in againſt him;" which his Majeſty conſented to, notwithſtanding all that the Duke of *York* urged to the Contrary upon the King's Promiſe to him, and which had only betrayed the Chancellor to making his Eſcape. But the King alleged, "that the Conde-"ſcenſion was neceſſary for his Good, and to com-"pound with thoſe who would elſe preſs that which "would be more miſchievous to him."

A Bill of Baniſhment paſſed againſt him.

WHEREUPON a Bill for his Baniſhment was preferred, only upon his having declined the Proceeding of Juſtice by his Flight, without ſo much as endeavouring to prove one of the Crimes They had charged upon him: And this Bill was paſſed by the two Houſes, and confirmed by the King; of whom They had yet ſo much Jealouſy, that They left it not in his Power to pardon him without the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament. And this Act was to be abſolute, "except by a Day appointed" (which was ſo ſhort, that it was hardly poſſible for him to comply with it, except He could have rode Poſt) "He ſhould appear "before one of the Secretaries of State, or deliver "himſelf to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was to "detain him in Cuſtody till He had acquainted the "Parliament with it: In the mean Time no Perſon "was to preſume to hold any Correſpondence with (467) "him or to write to him, except his own Children or "his menial Servants, who were obliged to ſhew the "Letters which They ſent or received to one of the "Secretaries of State."

He receives Orders a ſecond Time to quit France.

THE Expreſs that had been ſent to *Paris* returned with reiterated Orders to *Monſieur Le Fonde* to haſten the Chancellor's Journey, and not to ſuffer him to remain there; who executed the Commands He had received with great Punctuality and Importunity. The Earl of *St. Albans* did not vouchſafe to return any Anſwer to his Letter, or to interpoſe on his Behalf, that He might reſt till He might ſecurely enter upon his Journey: Only Abbot *Mountague* writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the Offices could be in his Power to perform, and excuſed the Rigour of the Court's Proceedings, as the Effect of ſuch Reaſon of State, as would not permit any Alteration whilſt They had that Apprehenſion of the Parliament; and therefore adviſed him "to comply with their Wiſhes, and "make no longer Stay in *Roan*, which would not be "permitted." But the general Indiſpoſition of his Body, the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Bruiſes He had

had received by the Falls and Overturnings of the Coach, made him not able to riſe out of his Bed; and the Phyſicians, who had taken much Blood from him, exceedingly diſſuaded it. All which, how viſible ſoever, prevailed not with his *French* Conductor to leſſen his Importunity that He would go, though it was evident He could not eaſily ſtand; of which no Doubt He gave true and faithful Advertiſement to the Court, though the Jealouſy of being not thought active enough in his Truſt made his Behaviour much leſs civil, than is agreeable to the Cuſtom of that Nation.

He again repreſents his ill State of Health to the French *Court.*

HOWEVER the Chancellor, hardened by the Inhumanity of his Treatment, writ ſuch a Letter in *Latin* to *Monſieur De Lionne*, by whoſe Hand all the ungentle Orders to *Monſieur De Fonde* had been tranſmitted, as expreſſed the Condition He was in, and his Diſability to comply with his Majeſty's Commands until He could recover more Strength; not without Complaint of the little Civility He had received in *France*. And He writ likewiſe to the Abbot *Mountague*, "to uſe his Credit with *Monſieur De Tellier*," upon whoſe Humanity He more depended, "to in-"terpoſe with his *Chriſtian* Majeſty, that He might "not be preſſed beyond what his Health would bear." And ſince at that Time He reſolved to make his Journey to *Avignon*, that He might be out of the Dominions of *France*, He deſired, "that He might "have Liberty to reſt ſome Days at *Orleans*, until his "Servants who were upon the Sea, and brought with "them many Things which He wanted, might come "to him; and that He might afterwards, in ſo long "a Journey in the worſt Seaſon of the Year, have "Liberty to take ſuch Repoſe as his Health would "require; in which He could not affect unneceſſary "Delay, for the great Charge and Expenſe it muſt "be accompanied with."

But receives freſh Orders to remove immediately.

THE Anſwer He received from *Monſieur De Lionne* was the renewing the King's Commands for his ſpeedy Departure,

Departure, "as a Thing abſolutely neceſſary to his "Affairs, and which muſt not be diſputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the Sight of a Billet which Abbot *Mountague* ſent to him, that He had received from *Monſieur De Tellier*, in which He ſaid, "that He had, according to his De- "ſire, moved his *Chriſtian* Majeſty concerning the "Chancellor of *England*; and that his Majeſty was "much diſpleaſed that He made not more Haſte to "comply with what was moſt neceſſary for his Af- "fairs, and that it muſt be no longer delayed; and (468) "that if He choſe to paſs to *Avignon*, He might reſt "one Day in ten, which was all his Majeſty would "allow."

THIS unexpected Determination, without the leaſt Ceremony or Circumſtance of Remorſe, ſignified by a Perſon who He was well aſſured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful Anſwer, in the Inſtant ſuppreſſed all Hopes of finding any Humanity in *France*, and raiſed a Reſolution in him to get out of thoſe Dominions with all the Expedition that was poſſible: Which his *French* Conductor urged with new and importunate Inſtance; inſomuch as though there was ſure Information, that the Ship, in which the Chancellor's Servants and Goods were embarked, was arrived at the Mouth of the River, and only kept by the croſs Wind from coming up to the Town; He would by no Means conſent to the Delay of one Day in Expectation of it, or that his Servants might come to him by Land, as He had ſent to them to do.

AT this very Time arrived an Expreſs, a Servant of his, ſent by his Children, with a particular Account of all the Tranſactions in Parliament, and of the Bill of Baniſhment; of Nothing of which He had before heard, and upon which the Duke of *York*, who looked upon himſelf as ill uſed by that Proſecution, was of Opinion, "that the Chancellor ſhould make "all poſſible Haſte, and appear by the Day appoint- "ed, and undergo the Trial, in which He knew his "Inno-

"Innocence would juſtify him." This Advice, with a little Indignation at the Diſcourteſy of the Court of *France*, diverted him from any farther Thought of *Avignon*. And though He did not imagine that his Strength would be ſufficient to perform the Journey by the Day aſſigned (for the Gout had already ſeized upon Both his Feet), nor did the Arguments for his Return ſatisfy him; and the Breach of all the Promiſes which had been made was no Sign that They meant ſpeedily to bring him to Trial, towards which They had not yet made any Preparation: Yet He reſolved to make all poſſible Haſte to *Calais*, that it might be in his Power to proceed according to ſuch Directions as He might reaſonably expect to receive there from his Friends from *England*, and from whence He might quickly remove into the *Spaniſh* Dominions; though the Climate of *Flanders*, well known to him, terrified him in Reſpect of the Seaſon and his approaching Gout. And with this Reſolution He diſpatched the Expreſs again for *England*; and left Order with a Merchant at *Roan*, "to receive his "Goods when the Ship ſhould arrive, and detain both "them and his Servants till He ſhould ſend farther "Orders from *Calais*:" And at the ſame Time He writ to a Friend in *Flanders*, to ſpeak to the Marquis of *Carracena*, with whom He had formerly held a fair Correſpondence, "to ſend him a Paſs to go through "that Country to what Place He ſhould think fit." And having thus provided for his Journey, He departed from *Roan*, after He had remained there about twenty Days.

He returns to Calais.

IN how ill a Condition of Health ſoever He was to travel, when the Days were at ſhorteſt, He reſolved to make no Stay till He ſhould reach *Calais*, to the End, that if He met with no Advice there to the Contrary, He might be at *London* by the Day limited by the Proclamation, which was the firſt of *February* that Style: And it was the laſt of *January* the *French* Style when He arrived at *Calais*, ſo broken with the Fatigue

Where He is confined to his Bed by a dangerous Illneſs.

Fatigue of the Journey and the Defluxion of the Gout, that He could not move but as He was carried, and was ſo put into a Bed; and the next Morning the Phyſicians found him in a Fever, and thought it neceſſary to open a Vein, which They preſently did. But the Pains in all his Limbs ſo increaſed, that He was not able to turn in his Bed; nor for many Nights cloſed his Eyes. Many Letters He found there from *England*, but was not in a Condition to read them, nor in Truth could ſpeak and diſcourſe with any Body. *Monſieur Le Fonde*, out of pure Compaſſion, ſuffered him to remain ſome Days without his Vexation, until He received freſh Orders from *Paris*, "that the Chan-"cellor might not, in what Caſe ſoever, be ſuffered to "remain in *Calais*:" And then He renewed his Importunity, "that He would the next Day leave the "Town, and either by Sea or Land, if He thought "it not fit to paſs for *England*, put himſelf into the "*Spaniſh* Dominions, which He might do in few "Hours." (469)

Yet He is required to retire out of the French *Territories.*

He was ſo confounded with the Barbarity, that He had no Mind to give him any Anſwer; nor could He ſuddenly find Words, their Converſation being in *Latin*, to expreſs the Paſſion He was in. At laſt He told him, "that He muſt bring Orders from God Al-"mighty as well as from the King, before He could "obey: That He ſaw the Condition He was in, and "conferred every Day with his Phyſicians, by which "He could not but know, that He could neither "help himſelf, nor endure the being carried out of "that Chamber, if the Houſe were in a Flame; and "therefore He did not uſe him like a Gentleman, "in adding his unreaſonable Importunities to the "Vexation He ſuffered by Pain and Sickneſs. That "He might be very confident, his Treatment had not "been ſo obliging to make him ſtay one Hour in "*France*, after He ſhould be able to go out of it: "But He would not willingly endanger himſelf by "Sea to fall into the Hands of his Enemies. That

"He

"He knew" (for He had ſhewed him his Letter) "that He had written into *Flanders* for a Paſs, which "was not yet come: As ſoon as it did, if He could "procure a Litter and endure the Motion of it, He "would remove to *St. Omers* or *Newport*, which were "the neareſt Places under the *Spaniſh* Government."

To all which He replied with no Exceſs of Courteſy, "that He muſt and would obey his Orders as He had "done; and that He had no Power to judge of his "Diſability to remove, or of the Pain He underwent." And there is no Doubt the Gentleman, who was well bred and in his Nature very civil, was not pleaſed with his Province, and much troubled that He could not avoid the Delivery of the Orders He received: And the Conjuncture of their Affairs was ſuch with Reference to the Deſigns then on Foot, that every Poſt brought reiterated Commands for the Chancellor's Remove; which grew every Day more impoſſible, by the Acceſs of new Pain to the Weakneſs He was in for Want of Sleep without any Kind of Suſtenance.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, within few Days after the laſt Encounter, upon freſh Letters from *Monſieur De Lionne*, the Gentleman came again to him, told him what Orders He had received, and again propoſed, "that He would either make Uſe of a Boat to *Newport* "or *Oſtend*, or a *Brancard* to *St. Omers*; either of which "He would cauſe to be provided againſt the next "Morning, for the King's Service was exceedingly "concerned in the Expedition." And when He ſaw the other was not moved with what He ſaid, nor gave him any Anſwer, He told him plainly, "that the King "would be obeyed in his own Dominions; and if He "would not chooſe to do that which the King had "required, He muſt go to the Governour, who had "Authority and Power to compel him, which He "durſt not but do." Upon which, with the Supply of Spirit that Choler adminiſtered to him, He told him, "that though the King was a very great and powerful "Prince, He was not yet ſo omnipotent, as to make

"a dying

"a dying Man ſtrong enough to undertake a Journey. "That He was at the King's Mercy, and would en- "dure what He ſhould exact from him as well as He "was able: It was in his Majeſty's Power to ſend him "a Priſoner into *England*, or to cauſe him to be car- "ried dead or alive into the *Spaniſh* Territories; but "He would not be *Felo de ſe*, by willingly attempting "to do what He and all who ſaw him knew was not "poſſible for him to perform." And in this Paſſion He added ſome Words of Reproach to *Le Fonde*, which were more due to *Monſieur De Lionne*, who in Truth had not behaved himſelf with any Civility: Where- upon He withdrew in the like Diſorder, and for ſome Days forbore ſo much as to ſee him, in which He had never before failed a Day.

AND the Chancellor, who really did believe that ſome Force and Violence would be uſed towards him, preſently ſent to deſire the chief Magiſtrates of the Town and the Lieutenant Governour to come to him; and then told them all the Treatment He had received from *Monſieur Le Fonde*, and appealed to them, "whe- "ther They thought him in a Condition to perform any "Journey." And the Phyſicians being likewiſe pre- ſent, He required them to ſign ſuch a Certificate and Teſtimony of his Sickneſs as They thought their Duty, which They readily performed; very fully declaring under their Hands, "that He could not be removed "out of the Chamber in which He lay, without ma- "nifeſt Danger of his Life." And the Lieutenant Governour and the Preſident of Juſtice ſeemed much ſcandalized at what had been ſo much preſſed, of which They had taken Notice many Days: And the one of them wrote to the Count of *Charrou*, Gover- nour of the Town and then at Court, and the other to *Monſieur De Lionne*, what They thought fit; and the Certificate of the Phyſicians was encloſed to the Abbot *Mountague*, with a full Relation of what had paſſed. And it was never doubted, but that *Monſieur Le Fonde* himſelf made a very faithful Relation of the

Impoſſi-

Impoſſibility that the Chancellor could comply with what was required, in the State of Sickneſs and Pain that He was in at preſent.

The French *Court ſuddenly alters its Behaviour.*

BY this Time the *French* Court diſcovered, that They were prevented of entering into that ſtrait Alliance They hoped with *England* (and for obtaining whereof They had gratified the proud and malicious Humours of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* in the Treatment of the Chancellor), by the *Triple League*, which They had uſed all thoſe Compliances to prevent: So that by the next Poſt after the Receipt of the Certificate from the Phyſicians, *Monſieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, in which He proteſted, "that He had the ſame "Reſpect for him which He had always profeſſed to "have in his greateſt Fortune, and that it was never "in the Purpoſe of his *Chriſtian* Majeſty to endanger "his Health by making any Journey that He could "not well endure; and therefore that it was left en- "tirely to himſelf to remove from *Calais* when He "thought fit, and to go to what Place He would." And *Monſieur Le Fonde* came now again to viſit him with another Countenance, by which a Man could not but diſcern, that He was much better pleaſed with the Commiſſion He had received laſt than with the former; and told him, "that He was now to receive "no Orders but from himſelf, which He would gladly "obey."

He has Leave to reſide in France.

THIS gave him ſome little Eaſe in the Agony He was in, for his Pains increaſed to an intolerable Degree, inſomuch that He could not riſe out of his Bed in ſix Weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, becauſe at the ſame Time He received an Account from his Friend in *Flanders*, "that the Marquis of "*Caſtelle Roderigo*, with as much Regret as a civil Man "could expreſs, proteſted, *that the Fear He had of of-* "*fending the Parliament at that Time would not permit* "*him to grant a Paſs: But if He would come to* New- "port, *He ſhould find the Governour there well prepared*

"*and*

"*and diſpoſed to ſhew him all poſſible Reſpect, and to ac-*
"*commodate him in his Paſſage throughout the Country,*
"*where it would not be convenient for him to make any Stay;*
"*and that He looked upon it as a great Misfortune to him-*
"*ſelf, that He might not wait upon him in his Paſſage.*"
This made it eaſy for him to diſcern, that his Enemies would not give him any Reſt in any Place where their Malice could reach him: And ſince They were ſo terrible that the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo* durſt not grant him a Paſs, He thought it would be no hard Matter for them to cauſe ſome Affront to be put on him when He ſhould be without any Paſs; though He had not the leaſt Suſpicion of the Marquis his failing in Point of Honour or Courteſy.

AT the ſame Time He received Advice from his Friends in *England*, "that the Storm from *France* was "over, and that He might be permitted to ſtay in any "Part thereof; and for the preſent They wiſhed "that He would repair to the Waters of *Bourbon* for "his Health, and then chooſe ſuch a Place to reſide "in, as upon Inquiry He ſhould judge moſt proper." But He was not yet ſo far reconciled to that Court, though He liked the Climate well, as to depend upon its Protection: And therefore He reſumed his former Purpoſe of going to *Avignon*, and, if He could recover Strength for the Journey before the Seaſon ſhould be expired for drinking the Waters of *Bourbon*, to paſs that Way. And to that Purpoſe He ſent to the Court "for a Paſs to *Avignon*, with Liberty to ſtay ſome "Days at *Roan*," where his Goods and his Monies were (for his Servants had come from thence to him to *Calais*), "and to uſe the Waters of *Bourbon* in his "Way:" All which was readily granted.

He returns to Roan.

IT was the third of *April*, before He recovered Strength enough to endure a Coach: And then, having bought a large and eaſy Coach of the Preſident of *Calais*, He hired Horſes there. And ſo He begun his Journey for *Roan*, being ſtill ſo lame and weak that He could not go without being ſupported: And the

firſt

firſt Day had a very ill Omen by the Negligence of the Coachman, who paſſing upon the Sands between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, when the Sea was flowing, drove ſo unadviſedly (which He might have avoided, as the Horſemen and another Coach did), that the Sea came over the Boot of the Coach, to the Middle of all thoſe who ſate in it; and a Minute's Pauſe more had inevitably overthrown the Coach (the Weight whereof only then prevented it), and They had been all covered with the Sea. And two Days after, by the Change of the Coachman for a worſe, He was overthrown in a Place almoſt as bad, into a deep and dirty Water, from whence He was with Difficulty and ſome Hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful Deliverances were comfortable Inſtances that God would protect him, of which He had within few Days a freſh and extraordinary Evidence.

WHEN He came to *Roan*, He received all thoſe Orders He had deſired from the Court. And a Letter from Abbot *Mountague* aſſured him, "that He need "no more apprehend any Diſcommodity from Orders "of the Court, but might be confident of the Con"trary, and of all Reſpect that could be ſhewed him "from thence: That He might ſtay at *Roan* as long "as his Indiſpoſition required; and when He had "made Uſe of the Waters of *Bourbon*, He might re"tire to any Place He would chooſe to reſide in." *Monſieur Le Fonde* had Orders, "after He had accom"panied the Chancellor two or three Days Journey to"wards *Bourbon*, except He deſired his Company long"er, to return to the Court." Only *Monſieur De Lionne* deſired, "that He would not in his Journey come "nearer *Paris* than the direct Way required him to do, "becauſe the Emperour's Agent at *London*, the Baron "of *Iſola*, had confidently averred, *that the King had* "*one Day gone* incognito *from the* Bois de Vincennes "*to meet the Chancellor, and had a long private Conference* "*with him.*"

WHEN

From whence He begins his Journey to Avignon.

WHEN He had ſtayed as long at *Roan* as was neceſſary for the taking a little Phyſick and recovering a little Strength, the Seaſon required his making Haſte to *Bourbon*: And ſo on the twenty third of *April* He began his Journey from thence; and that He might comply with the Directions of *Monſieur De Lionne*, He choſe to go by the Way of *Eureux*, and to lodge there that Night. And becauſe He was unable to go up a Pair of Stairs, He ſent a Servant before, as He had always done, to chooſe an Inn where there was ſome Ground-Lodging, which often was attended with Diſcommodity enough, and now (beſides being forced to go through the City into the Suburbs) was like to coſt him very dear.

He is greatly abuſed by ſome Engliſh *at* Eureux.

THERE happened to be at that Time quartered there a Foot-Company of *Engliſh* Seamen, who had been raiſed and were entertained to ſerve the *French* in attending upon their Artillery, ſome of them being Gunners; and none of them had the Language, but were attended by a *Dutch* Conductor, who ſpake ill *Engliſh*, for their Interpreter. Their Behaviour there was ſo rude and barbarous in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the Townſmen who would not give them any Thing They demanded, that the City had ſent to the Court their Complaints, and expected Orders that Night for their Remove. They quickly heard of the Chancellor's being come to the Town; and calling their Company together declared, "that there were many Months Pay due to them in "*England*, and that They would make him pay it be-"fore He got out of the Town."

HE was ſcarce gotten into his ill Ground-Lodging, when many of them flocked about the Houſe: Upon which the Gates of the Inn were ſhut, They making a great Noiſe, and ſwearing They would ſpeak with the Chancellor; and, being about the Number of fifty, They threatened to break open the Gate or pull down the Houſe. The Mutiny was notorious to all the Street; but They had not Courage to appear againſt them:

them: The Magiſtrates were ſent to; but there was a Difference between them upon the Point of Juriſdiction, this Uproar being in the Suburbs. In ſhort, They broke open the Door of the Inn: And when They were entered into the Court, They quickly found which was the Chancellor's Chamber. And the Door being barricaded with ſuch Things as were in the Room, They firſt diſcharged their Piſtols into the Window, with which They hurt ſome of the Servants, and *Monſieur Le Fonde*, who with his Sword kept them from entering in at the Window with great Courage, until He was ſhot with a Brace of Bullets in the Head, with which He fell: And then another of the Servants being hurt, They entered in at the Window, and opened the Door for the reſt of their Company, which quickly filled the Chamber.

THE Chancellor was in his Gown, ſitting upon the Bed, being not able to ſtand; upon whom They all came with their Swords drawn: And one of them gave him a Blow with a great Broadſword upon the Head, which if it had fallen upon the Edge muſt have cleft his Head; but it turned in his Hand, and ſo ſtruck him with the Flat, with which He fell backward on the Bed. They gave him many ill Words, called him "Traitor," and ſwore, "before He ſhould "get out of their Hands He ſhould lay down all their "Arrears of Pay." They differed amongſt themſelves what They ſhould do with him, ſome crying, "that "They would kill him," others, "that They would "carry him into *England*:" Some had their Hands in his Pockets, and pillaged him of his Money and ſome other Things of Value; others broke up his Trunks and plundered his Goods. When himſelf recovered out of the Trance in which He was ſtunned by the Blow, They took him by the Hand who ſpake of carrying him into *England*, and told him, "it was the "wiſeſt Thing They could do to carry him thither, "where They would be well rewarded:" Another ſwore, "that They ſhould be better rewarded for kill-

"ing him there." And in this Confuſion, the Room being full and all ſpeaking together, the Fellow who had given him the Blow, whoſe Name was *Howard*, a very luſty ſtrong Man, took him by the Hand, and ſwore, "They ſhould hurt one another if They killed "him there; and therefore They would take him into "the Court, and diſpatch him where there was more "Room." And thereupon others laid their Hands upon him and pulled him to the Ground, and then dragged him into the Court, being in the ſame Inſtant ready to run their Swords into him together: When in the Moment their Enſign, and ſome of the Magiſtrates with a Guard, came into the Court, the Gate being broken; and ſo He was reſcued out of their bloody Hands, and carried back into his Chamber.

HOWARD and many of the other, ſome whereof had been hurt with Swords as They entered at the Window, were taken and carried to Priſon, and the reſt diſperſed, vowing Revenge when They ſhould get the reſt of their Company together: And it cannot be expreſſed with how much Fear the Magiſtrates, and the poor Guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

THE Chancellor himſelf had the Hurt before mentioned in his Head, which was a Contuſion, and already ſwollen to a great Bigneſs; *Monſieur Le Fonde* was ſhot into the Head with a Brace of Bullets, and bled much, but ſeemed not to think himſelf in Danger; two of the Chancellor's Servants were hurt with Swords, and loſt much Blood: So that They all deſired to be in ſome ſecure Place, that Phyſicians and Surgeons might viſit them. And by this Time many Perſons of Quality of the Town, both Men and Women, filled the little Chamber; bitterly inveighing againſt the Villany of the Attempt, but renewing the Diſpute of their Juriſdiction. And the Provoſt, who out of the City was a greater Officer, would provide an Accommodation for them in his own Houſe in the City,

City, and appoint a Guard for them; which the Magiſtrates of the City would not conſent to, nor He to the Expedient propoſed by them. And this Diſpute with Animoſity and very ill Words continued in the Chamber till Twelve of the Clock at Night, the hurt Perſons being in the mean Time without any Remedy or Eaſe: So that the Magiſtrates, though They were not ſo dangerous, were as troubleſome as the Seamen, againſt whom They were not yet ſecure upon a ſecond Attempt.

IN the End; *Monſieur Le Fonde* was forced to raiſe his Voice louder than was agreeable to the State He was in, to threaten to complain of them to the King, for their Neglect before and after the Miſchief was done: By which They were much moved, and preſently ſent to the Governour of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Caſtle (which is a good and noble Houſe in the Town), "that He would receive the Chancellor and *Monſieur* "*Le Fonde*, with ſuch Servants as were neceſſary for "their Attendance;" which He did with great Courteſy, and gave them ſuch Accommodation as in an unfurniſhed Houſe could on the Sudden be expected. And ſo Phyſicians and Surgeons viſited their Wounds, and applied ſuch preſent Remedies as were neceſſary, till upon ſome Repoſe They might make a better Judgment.

(474) THE ſame Night there were Expreſſes diſpatched to the Court to give Advertiſement of the Outrage, and to *Roan* to inform the Intendant in whoſe Province it was committed: And He the next Day with a good Guard of Horſe arrived at *Eureux*. After He had viſited the Chancellor, with the juſt Senſe of the Inſolence He had undergone, and of the Indignity that the King and his Government had ſuſtained; He proceeded in the Court of Juſtice to examine the whole Proceedings, and much blamed the Magiſtrates on all Sides for their Negligence and Remiſſneſs. Upon the whole Examination there appeared no Cauſe to believe, that there was any formed Deſign in which any

others had concurred than They who appeared in the Execution, who defended themſelves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other Thing than in the Barbarity of the Action. Yet it was confeſſed, that upon their firſt Arrival at *Dieppe*, and whilſt They were quartered there, the Chancellor then paſſing by between *Roan* and *Calais*, They had a Reſolution to have robbed or killed him, if They had not been prevented by his getting the Gates opened, and ſo going away before the uſual Hour.

The Surgeons found *Monſieur Le Fonde's* Wound to be more dangerous than They had apprehended, and that at leaſt one of the Bullets remained ſtill in the Wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the Scull, in which Caſe trepanning would be neceſſary; which made him reſolve, though He was feveriſh, preſently to have a *Brancard* made, and to be put into it in his Bed, and ſo with Expedition to be carried to *Paris*, where He was ſure to find better Operators, beſides the Benefit and Convenience of his own Houſe and Family. And ſo the third Day after his Miſadventure, and after He had given his Teſtimony to the Intendant, He was in that Manner, and attended by a Surgeon, conveyed to *Paris*; and, by the Bleſſing of God, recovered without the Remedy that had been propoſed.

The Chancellor, after He had been bled once or twice, found himſelf only in Pain with the Blow, without any other Symptoms which frequently attend great Contuſions; and therefore He poſitively rejected the Propoſition of trepanning, which had been likewiſe earneſtly urged by the Surgeons: And upon Application of ſuch Plaſters and Ointments as were preſcribed, He found both the Pain and Swelling leſſen by Degrees, though the Memory of the Blow laſted long; ſo that He thought himſelf fit enough for his Journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky Town; and his Servants, having only Fleſh-Hurts, could endure the Coach as well as He. The Intendant,

ant, who knew his Deſire, and was willing to defer his Judgment till He was gone from thence, was very well content that He ſhould proceed in his Journey, and ſent his Sons with his own Troop to convoy him two or three Leagues out of the Town; and appointed the Provoſt with his Troop of Horſe to attend him to his Lodging that Night, and farther if He deſired it. And the next Day He condemned *Howard* and two others, an *Engliſhman*, a *Scotchman*, and an *Iriſhman* (for the Company conſiſted of the three Nations), to be broken upon the Wheel; which was executed accordingly. And ſhortly after his Arrival at *Bourbon*, *Monſieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, "of the Trouble the King ſuſtained for "the Affront and Danger He had undergone; and "that his Majeſty was very ill ſatisfied, that ſo few as "three had been ſacrificed to Juſtice for ſo barbarous "a Crime."

He removes from thence to Bourbon.

WHEN He had ſtayed as long at *Bourbon* in the Uſe of the Waters, as the Phyſicians preſcribed (in which Time He found a good Recovery of his Strength, ſave that the Weakneſs of his Feet ſtill continued in an uneaſy Degree); and had received great Civilities during his Abode there from all the *French* of Quality, Men and Women, who came thither for the ſame Remedies, and with whom the Town then abounded; He proſecuted his Journey to *Avignon*: And having ſtayed a Week at *Lyons*, without any new ill Acci-
(475) dent He arrived about the Middle of *June* there, by the pleaſant Paſſage of the *Rhone*.

And from thence to Avignon.

THOUGH He deſired to make his Journey as privately as He could, and had no more Servants in his Train than was neceſſary to the State of Health He was in; yet He was known in moſt Places by the Preſence of *Engliſh*, or by ſome other Accident. And ſome Friends at *Paris* had given ſuch Advertiſement to *Avignon*, that when He arrived there, He had no ſooner entered into a private Lodging, which He procured the next Day, but the Vice-Legate came to viſit

His good Reception there.

him in great State and with much Civility, offering all the Commodities of that Place if He would reſide there. The Archbiſhop, a very reverend and learned Prelate, a *Genoeſe*, as the Vice-Legate likewiſe was, performed the ſame Ceremony to him; and afterwards the Conſuls and Magiſtrates of the City in a Body (who made a Speech to him in *Latin*, as all the reſt treated him in that Language), and all the principal Officers of the Court: So that He could not receive more Civility and Reſpect in any Place; which, together with the Cheapneſs and Convenience of Living, and the Pleaſantneſs of the Country about it, might have inclined him to reſide there. Yet the ill Savour of the Streets by the Multitude of Dyers and of the Silk-Manufactures, and the worſe Smell of the *Jews*, made him doubt that it could be no pleaſant Place to make an Abode in during the Heat of Summer: And therefore receiving new Confirmation by Letters from *Paris*, "that He was entirely at Liberty to reſide "where He would in *France*," He reſolved to take a View of ſome Places before He would conclude where to fix; and the Fame of *Montpelier*, that was within two little Days Journey, invited him thither. And ſo after a Week's Stay at *Avignon*, and after having returned all the Viſits He had received, He went from thence, and came to *Montpelier* in the Beginning of *July*.

He goes to Montpelier.

It was his very good Fortune, that an *Engliſh* Lady of eminent Virtue and Merit, the Lady Viſcounteſs *Mordaunt*, who had in the Beginning of the Winter before, in as great Weakneſs of Body as Nature can ſubſiſt with, tranſported herſelf thither, remained ſtill at *Montpelier*; where She had miraculouſly, by the Benefit of that Air, recovered a comfortable Degree of Health: And the News of her being ſtill there was a great Motive to his Journey from *Avignon* thither. The Chancellor had no Mind to be taken Notice of; but ſome Relations which that Lady made to his Advantage, and the great Eſteem that City had of her, made

Where He receives great Civilities from the Lady Mordaunt.

made his Reception there more formal and ceremonious than He desired.

THE Marquis *De Castro*, Governour of the City and Castle, visited him and welcomed him to the Town, though He had not so much as a Pass to come thither. The *Premier* President, and all the other Courts, and the Consul and other Magistrates of the City, visited him in their several Bodies, and entertained him in *Latin*. It is true, that some Days after, the Intendant of the Province (who was not then in the Town) came thither; and He had received Orders from the Court, as soon as it was known that the Chancellor was in *Montpelier*, "that He should be looked upon "and treated as a Person of whom the *Most Christian* "King had a good Esteem:" And so, as soon as He came to the Town, He visited him with much Ceremony, and told him, "that He had received a parti-"cular Command from the King to do him all the "Services He could in that City, and in the Province "of *Languedoc*." And it must be confessed, that (476) during his Residence in *Montpelier*, which was not above one or two Months less than three Years, He did receive as much Civility and formal Courtesy from all Persons of all Conditions in that Place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if He had been sent thither as a publick Person. And when the Duke of *Vernueil* (who was Governour of the Province, and used to convene the States thither every Year) came to *Montpelier*, as He did three Times in those three Years, He always visited the Chancellor, and shewed a very great Respect to him: Which was as great a Countenance as He could receive.

Great Respect paid to him there.

YET He did always acknowledge, that He owed all the Civilities which He received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the Matter the first Civilities He had received in *France*, purely to the Friendship of the Lady *Mordaunt*, and to the great Credit She had there: And for which, and the Consolation He received

Which He imputes to the Friendship of Lady Mordaunt.

received from her during the Time of her Stay there, He had ever a great Reſpect for her and her Huſband; who, coming likewiſe thither, when He received Information from *England* of a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him by ſome *Iriſh*, manifeſted a noble Affection for him, and ſtayed ſome Months longer than He intended to have done, that He might ſee the Iſſue of that Deſign. Of which He had a juſt Senſe, and tranſmitted the Information of it to his Children, to the End that They and his Friends might, upon all Opportunities, acknowledge it to them Both.

And in Truth the great Reſpect the Place had for him was notorious, when any *Engliſh* came thither, and forbore to pay any Reſpect to the Chancellor; as only one Gentleman did, Sir *Richard Temple*, who publickly declared "that He would not viſit him," and diſſuaded others from it as a Matter the Parliament would puniſh them for, and ſhewed much Vanity and Inſolence in his Diſcourſes concerning him: But He found ſo little Countenance from any Perſon of Condition, though He called himſelf "the *Premier* Preſident of "the Parliament of *England*," and ſuch a general Averſion towards him; that as They who came with him, and his other Friends, deſerted him and paid their Civilities to the Chancellor, ſo himſelf grew ſo ridiculous, that He left the Town ſooner than He intended, and left the Reputation behind him of a very vain, humourous and ſordid Perſon.

And having thus accompanied the Chancellor through all his ill Treatments and Miſadventures to *Montpelier*, where He reſolved to ſtay, it will be to no Purpoſe farther to continue this Relation; otherwiſe than as himſelf afterwards communicated his private Thoughts and Reflections to his Friends.

When He found himſelf at this Eaſe, and with thoſe convenient Accommodations, that He might reaſonably believe He ſhould be no more expoſed to the Troubles and Diſtreſſes which He had paſſed through; He began to think of compoſing his Mind

to

to his Fortune, and of regulating and governing his own Thoughts and Affections towards ſuch a Tranquillity, as the Sickneſs of Mind and Body, and the continued ſharp Fatigue in the ſix or ſeven precedent Months, had not ſuffered to enter into any formed Deliberation. And it pleaſed God in a ſhort Time, after ſome Recollections, and upon his entire Confidence in him, to reſtore him to that Serenity of Mind, and Reſignation of himſelf to the Diſpoſal and good Pleaſure of God, that They who converſed moſt with him could not diſcover the leaſt Murmur or Impatience in him, or any Unevenneſs in his Converſations. He reſolved to improve his Underſtanding of the *French* Language, not towards ſpeaking it, the Defect of which He found many Conveniences in, but for the reading any Books; and to learn the *Italian:* Towards
(97) Both which He made a competent Progreſs, and had Opportunity to buy or borrow any good Books He deſired to peruſe.

He writes a Vindication of himſelf.

BUT in the firſt Place He thought He was indebted to his own Reputation, and obliged for the Information of his Children and other Friends, to vindicate himſelf from thoſe Aſperſions and Reproaches which the Malice of his Enemies had caſt upon him in the Parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal Charge, nor offered to be proved by any one Witneſs, were yet maliciouſly ſcattered abroad and divulged to take away his Credit. And the Performance of this Work, that was ſo neceſſarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his conſtant and uninterrupted Fidelity and Zeal for the King's Service, and his Reſolution to ſay Nothing on his own Behalf and for his own Vindication, that might in the leaſt Degree reflect upon his Majeſty; which Conſideration had before kept him from charging thoſe who perſecuted him, with ſuch indirect and naughty Proceedings as might have put an End to their Power. Nor did He think fit in that Conjuncture, when his Majeſty had not yet met with that Compliance and

Sub-

Submiſſion from the Parliament ſince the Chancellor's Remove, as had been promiſed to him as the Effect of that Counſel, to publiſh, that his coming away (which was the greateſt Blot upon his Reputation) was with the King's Privity, and at leaſt with his Approbation. However He was reſolved to commit into the Cuſtody of his Children, who He knew could never commit a Fault againſt his Majeſty, ſuch a plain, particular Defence of his Innocence upon every one of the Reproaches He had been charged with, that themſelves might infallibly know his Uprightneſs and Integrity in all his Miniſtry, which They obſerved and knew too much of to ſuſpect; and might likewiſe manifeſtly convince other Men, who were willing to be undeceived: But the Manner of doing it, in Reſpect of the former Conſideration, He left to their Diſcretion. And having prepared this, and cauſed it to be fairly tranſcribed, before the Lord and Lady *Mordaunt* returned for *England*; He committed it to their Care, who delivered it ſafely to the Hands of his Sons.

THEY were themſelves upon that Diſadvantage under the Reproach of their Relation, that the eldeſt of them was removed from his Attendance upon the Queen for many Months, without the Allegation of any Crime; and the other was retained only by the Goodneſs of the King, againſt the greateſt Importunity that could be applied: And therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any Offence, of which their Adverſaries might take any Advantage. Beſides, They obſerved that They, whoſe Credit and Intereſt had done all the Miſchief to their Father, were now fallen out amongſt themſelves with equal Animoſity, and had all carried themſelves ſo ill with Reference to the Publick, and ſo looſely and licentiouſly in Order to a good Name, that their being Enemies brought little Prejudice to any Man's Reputation; and many of thoſe, who had been made Inſtruments to deprave the Chancellor, were not ſcrupulous in declaring how They had been cozened, and how unjuſtly He had been traduced

duced and accuſed: So that They made no other Uſe of the Anſwer and Vindication They had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect Relation of ſome particular Matters of Fact which were variouſly reported, and could not be underſtood by any but thoſe who had been converſant in the Tranſactions.

IT will be therefore neceſſary in this Place, ſince there hath been before ſo methodical an Account of all that the Committee brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt him, and never after mentioned when They had once accuſed him, to inſert ſuch a ſhort Anſwer and Defence to all that was alleged, out of that Vindication which He ſent from *Montpelier*, that Nothing may remain in the poſſible Thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted Man that may reflect upon his Sincerity, or leave any Taint upon his Memory; the Preſervation of which from being ſullied by the Misfortunes which befell him, is the only End of this Diſcourſe, never to be communicated, or peruſed by any but his neareſt Relations; who, by the Bleſſing of God, can never but retain that Affection and Duty to the Crown and for the Royal Family, that by the Laws of God and Man is due to it and them, and without which They can never expect God's Bleſſing in this or the World to come. And in this I ſhall obſerve the Order I uſed before in the Mention of the ſeveral Allegations, omitting upon any Particular the Repetition of what hath been at large already ſaid in this Diſcourſe, which ſhall be referred to for Anſwer.

His Anſwer to the ſeveral Articles of the Charge againſt him.

To the FIRST then, *That He had deſigned a ſtanding Army, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; adviſed the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of future Parliaments; to govern by military Power, and to maintain the ſame by free Quarter and Contribution* (which, if true, whether it was Treaſon or no, muſt worthily have made him odious to all honeſt Men):

The firſt Article.

THE

His Anſwer. THE Anſwer which He then made, and which was dated at *Montpelier* upon the twenty fourth of *July* 1668, within few Days after his Arrival there and Reſolution to ſtay there, was in theſe Words. He ſaid, As Nothing could be more ſurpriſing to him, nor He thought to any Man elſe, than to find himſelf, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown in the higheſt Truſt; after having paſſed all the Time of his Majeſty's Exile with him beyond the Seas and in his Service, and in which the indefatigable Pains He took was notorious to many Nations; and after He had the Honour and Happineſs to return again with his Majeſty into *England*, and to receive from him ſo many eminent Marks of his Favour, and to ſerve him near eight Years after his Return in the Place of the greateſt Truſt, without ever having diſcovered that his Majeſty was offended with him, or in Truth that He had ever the leaſt ill Succeſs from any Counſel He had ever given him; or that any Perſons of Honour and Reputation, or Intereſt in the Nation, had ever made the leaſt Complaint againſt him, or had any Thought that the Miſcarriages (for Miſcarriages were enough ſpoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any Advice of his: He ſaid, that as after all this He could not but be exceedingly ſurpriſed to find himſelf on a Sudden, when He had not the leaſt Imagination of it, bereft of the King's Favour, and fallen ſo far from his Kindneſs, even within three or four Days after his Majeſty had vouchſafed to condole with him in his Houſe for the Death of his Wife, that He reſolved to take the Great Seal from him; ſo it was no ſmall Comfort to him to ſee and know, that very few Men of Honour and Reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the ſame was contrived, purſued, and brought to paſs by Men and Women of no Credit in the Nation; by Men, who had never ſerved his Majeſty or his bleſſed Father eminently or uſefully, but moſt of them of Truſt and Credit under *Cromwell*, or never of Credit to do the King the leaſt Service; and who were only

only angry with him for not being pleaſed with their vicious and debauched Lives, or for oppoſing and diſſuading their looſe and unreaſonable Counſels, which They were every Day audaciouſly adminiſtering in Matters of the higheſt Moment, with great Licenſe and Preſumption.

BUT above all, He ſaid, it was of the higheſt Conſolation to him, when it was publickly and induſtriouſly declared, "that the King was firmly reſolved "to deſtroy him, and would take it very well from "all Men who would contribute thereunto, by bring-"ing in any Charge or Accuſation againſt him;" when the moſt notorious Enemies He had were the only Perſons truſted in Employment, Men who had moſt eminently diſſerved and maliciouſly traduced the King, and had been to that Time looked upon as ſuch by his Majeſty; and when all, who were believed to have any Kindneſs for the Chancellor, were diſcountenanced and ill looked upon; when Men of all Conditions and Degrees were daily ſolicited and importuned, by Promiſes and Threats, to declare themſelves againſt him, at leaſt if They would not be wrought over to do any Thing againſt their Conſcience, that They would abſent themſelves from thoſe Debates: That all this Malice and Conſpiracy, with ſo long Deliberation and Conſultation, ſhould not be able at laſt to produce and exhibit any other Charge and Accuſation againſt him, but ſuch a one as moſt Men who knew him, or who had any Truſt or Employment in the publick Affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the Guilt of, and even his Enemies themſelves did not believe. The Particulars whereof, He ſaid, as far as He could take Notice of them, they having not been to that Day reduced into any Form, ſo much as in the Houſe of Commons itſelf, He would then examine: And if He ſhould appear too tedious in the Examination and Diſquiſition of them, and to ſay more than was neceſſary in his own Defence, and to mention many particular Perſons in another Manner than is uſual upon Occaſi-

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ons of this Kind; He desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal Answer to an Impeachment, nor like to be published in his Life-Time, a Judgment of Banishment being passed against him (without the least Proof made or offered for the making good any one Article of Treason or Misdemeanor) by Act of Parliament; but that it was a Debt due to his Children and Posterity, that They might know (how much soever They were involved or might be in the Effects of the sharp Malice against him) how far He was from any Guilt of those odious Crimes which had been so odiously laid to his Charge.

And that being his End, He might be excused if He did so far enlarge upon all Particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far He had been from treading in those Paths, or having been accessory to those Counsels, which had been the Source from whence all those bitter Waters had flowed, that had corrupted the Taste even almost of the whole Nation. And in Order to that so necessary Discourse and Vindication of his Integrity and Honour, He could only take Notice of the printed Paper of those Heads for a Charge, that had been reported from the Committee to the House; all Correspondence and Communication being so strictly inhibited to all Kind of Men to hold any Kind of Commerce with him, except his Children and menial Servants, who only had Liberty to write unto him of his own domestick Affairs; and the Letters which They should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the Secretaries of State.

To the Charge of the first Article itself He said; it was no great Vanity to believe, that there was not one Person in *England* of any Quality to whom He was in any Degree known, who believed him guilty of that Charge: And that He wanted not a Cloud of Witnesses (besides the Testimony that He hoped his Majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that Particular)

ticular) who, from all that They had heard him ſay in Council and in Converſation, could vindicate him from having that odious Opinion. Having had the Honour, by the ſpecial Command of his late Majeſty of bleſſed Memory, to attend the Prince, his now Majeſty, into the Parts beyond the Seas, and to be always with him and in his Service thoſe many Years of his Exile, and till his happy Return; He had always endeavoured to imprint in his Majeſty's Mind an Affection, Eſteem and Reverence for the Laws of the Land; "without "the trampling of which under Foot," He told him "that himſelf could not have been oppreſſed; and that "by the Vindication and Support of them, He could "only hope and expect Honour and Security to the "Crown." Upon that Foundation and declared Judgment (He ſaid) He came into the Service of the King his Father, by oppoſing all irregular and illegal Proceedings in Parliament; and that He had never ſwerved from that Rule in any Advice and Counſel He had given to him or to his Son.

FROM the Time of his Majeſty's happy Return from beyond the Seas, He had taken Nothing ſo much to Heart, as the Eſtabliſhment of the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Kingdom according to the known Laws of the Land, as the beſt Expedient He could think of for the compoſing the general Diſtempers of the Nation, and uniting the Hearts of the People in a true Obedience unto, and Reverence for, his Majeſty's Perſon and Government. And with what Succeſs He had ſerved his Majeſty in that Province (which He had been pleaſed principally to commit to his Care and Truſt), He did appeal to the whole Nation; and whether the oldeſt Man could remember, that in the beſt Times Juſtice was ever more equally adminiſtered, and with leſs Complaint and Murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the Parts of the Kingdom, and had been often taken Notice of by the King himſelf with great Approbation, and confeſſed by moſt of the Nobility upon ſeveral Occaſions.

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He ſaid, He had often declared in Parliament the King's Affection and Reverence for the Laws, and his Reſolution neither to ſwerve from them himſelf, nor to ſuffer any Body elſe to do ſo: And upon the publick Occaſions of ſwearing the Judges in any Courts, He had always enjoined them "to be very ſtrict and "preciſe in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice according to "Law, with all Equality, and without Reſpect of Per-"ſons, which the King expected from them; and that "as his Majeſty reſolved never to interpoſe by Meſſage "or Letter for the Advancement or Favour of any "Man's Right or Title, ſo He would take it very ill "if any Subject (how great ſoever) ſhould be able to "pervert them." And He did believe there had never paſſed ſo many Years together in any Age, in which the Crown had not in the leaſt Degree interpoſed in any Cauſe or Title depending in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to incline the Court to this or that Side; or in which the Crown itſelf hath had ſo may Cauſes judged againſt it in ſeveral Courts: At leaſt in which former Practice and Uſage on the Behalf of the Crown hath been leſs followed. And Nothing is more known, than that from the Time of the King's bleſſed Return into *England*, even to the Preparation of that Charge againſt him, He had been reproached with Nothing ſo much as his too much adhering to the Law, and ſubjecting all Perſons to it: And this Reproach had not been caſt upon him ſo bitterly and ſo maliciouſly by any, and in Places where They thought it might produce moſt Prejudice to him, as by thoſe who now contrived that Charge, and who had been always great Enemies to the Law.

All this, and much more of the ſame Kind, He ſaid, was manifeſt to all the World: And therefore He needed not more to labour in that Vindication. Yet He could not but obſerve, that there was not in all the King's Forces, nor was when his Forces were much greater than They were at that preſent, one Officer recommended by him: And moſt of them were ſuch who profeſſed publickly a great Animoſity againſt him, having

having been, by the Malice of ſome Men, very unreaſonably perſuaded that the Chancellor was their Enemy; that He deſired that They might be diſbanded, or at leaſt ſo obliged to the Rules of the Law, that They ſhould be every Day caſt into Priſon. And They had indeed found, that in ſome Inſolencies which the Soldiers had committed contrary to the Law, and ſome Pretences which They made to Privileges againſt Arreſts, and the like, He had always oppoſed their Deſires with more Warmth than other Men had done; as believing it might be the Cauſe of notable Diſorders, and more alienate the Affection of the People from the Soldiers: So that it could not be thought probable, that He ſhould contribute his Advice *for the raiſing a Standing Army, and that the Kingdom ſhould be governed thereby*; when there were very few Men ſo like to be deſtroyed by that Army as himſelf, who was ſo induſtriouſly rendered to be odious to it.

To the other Part of that firſt Article, *that He did adviſe the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, &c.* which it was ſaid two Privy Counſellors were ready to prove; He made a Relation of all that had paſſed in that Conſternation when the *Dutch* Fleet came into the River as far as *Chatham*, and when the Debate was in Council upon the reconvening the Parliament in *Auguſt*, when it ſtood prorogued till *October*, which the Chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this Diſcourſe † of the Time when thoſe Tranſactions paſſed, and ſo need not to be repeated in this Place.

THE SECOND Article was, *That He had, in the Hearing of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, falſely and maliciouſly ſaid*, That the King was in his Heart a Papiſt, popiſhly affected, *or Words to that Effect.* *The ſecond Article.*

HE ſaid, that He had Occaſion too often, throughout the whole Charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great Goodneſs of God Almighty, that, ſince He *His Anſwer.*

† Page 419, Fol. &c.

thought not fit (for his greater Humiliation, and it may be to correct the Pride of a good Conſcience) to preſerve him entirely from thoſe Aſperſions of Infamy, and thoſe *Flagella Linguæ*, thoſe Strokes of the Tongue, which always leave ſome Mark or Scar in the Reputation they deſire to wound; He had yet infuſed into the Hearts of his Enemies, who had ſuggeſted and contrived this Perſecution againſt him, to lay ſuch Crimes to his Charge as his Nature is known moſt to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but muſt be contradicted, and a Vindication of him from that Guilt muſt be made, by all Men who know him to any Degree, or who have been much in his Company. And as Juſtice would have required it, ſo the uſual Form in Caſes of this Nature doth exact, that in ſo general a Charge They ſhould have named one ſingle Perſon of thoſe many, in whoſe Hearing He had laid that odious Imputation upon the King: And every Man will preſume, that one ſuch Perſon would have been named, if He could have been found.

THERE was no Man then alive, He ſaid, who had the Honour to be ſo many Years about or near the Perſon of the King as He had been: No Man, who knew more of the Temptation his Majeſty had undergone, and the Aſſaults He had ſuſtained, in the Matter of Religion, during the whole Time of his Exile; when almoſt a total Deſpair poſſeſſed the Spirits of moſt Men of his own Religion, that He would recover his Regality; and the Hopes and Promiſes and Aſſurances were ſo pregnant of very many of all Conditions, that He would ſuddenly recover it if He would change it. No Man knew ſo well, with what Chriſtian Courage his Majeſty had repelled thoſe Aſſaults, or with what pious Contempt and Indignation He reſiſted and rejected thoſe Temptations. Nor had any Man, He thought, held ſo many Diſcourſes with his Majeſty concerning Religion as He had done; and ſooner and more clearly diſcerned the Reproaches He would undergo from that innate Candour in his princely Nature,

Nature, which diſpoſed him to receive any Addreſſes, or to hear any Diſcourſes, which thoſe of ſeveral Factions in Religion with great Preſumption have uſed to preſent to him: Whilſt his Majeſty hath, with equal Temper and ſingular Benignity, heard all; and, pitying their Errours, diſmiſſed them with Evidence, that their Arguments were too weak to make Impreſſion upon his Judgment. Which though They knew well, yet either Party, out of the Vanity of their Hearts, uſed all the Endeavours They could to get it believed, that the King was propitious to them and their Party. And the *Papiſts*, being moſt preſumptuous in particular, and in their dark Walks in ſeveral Counties making it a ſpecial Argument to their Proſelytes, and thoſe They endeavoured to make ſo, that the King favoured them, and was of their Religion in his Heart (of which, and the great Prejudice it brought upon his Majeſty, He frequently received Advertiſements from many Perſons of Honour, and of warm Affections to the Government); of which He had always informed the King, who was exceedingly offended at their Folly and Preſumption, and wiſhed "that ſome of them might be "apprehended, and proſecuted with the utmoſt Ri-"gour; and that ſome ſuch Proſecution might be "made againſt all the *Roman Catholicks*, and that They "might be convicted;" which He always gave in Charge to the Judges accordingly. And upon that and the like Occaſions He had a juſt and neceſſary Opportunity to enlarge, in the Preſence of many Perſons of Honour and Intereſt in the Kingdom, upon the Sincerity of the King's Religion, and his conſtant Exerciſe of it when He ſuffered by it; giving ſuch Inſtances of many Particulars as were pertinent to the Diſcourſe: Of which Endeavours of his, and of ſome Fruit thereof, He doubted not but that many of as conſiderable Perſons as are in *England* would be ready to give him their Teſtimony. And (He ſaid) He might without Vanity ſay, that He had more than an ordinary Part in the framing and promoting that Act

of Parliament, that hath made thoſe ſeditious Diſcourſes, *of the King's being a* Papiſt *in his Heart, or papiſhly affected*, ſo very penal as they are: And therefore there would be Need of an undoubted and uncontrollable Evidence, that He had ſo ſoon run into that Crime himſelf. Which was all He would for the preſent ſay upon that ſecond Article.

The third Article. THE THIRD Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money for paſſing the* Canary *Patent, and other illegal Patents; and granted ſeveral Injunctions to ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted.*

His Anſwer. To which He ſaid, that He had preſumed in his humble Addreſs to the Houſe of Peers to aſſure their Lordſhips, *that He had never received one Penny over and above the juſt Perquiſites of his Office, according to the Precedents and Practice of the beſt Times, which He conceived to be thoſe of the Lord* Coventry *and the Lord* Elleſmere; *and which He had made his Rule in all that He had received, excepting only what He had from the immediate Bounty of the King.* And as He had always done all that was in his Power to prevent and ſtop all illegal Patents, ſo He did believe that there would be more Patents then found in the Office, which had been ſtopped by him, than by any of his Predeceſſors in ſo ſhort a Time. He never granted any Injunctions in the Caſes mentioned in the Charge, nor in any Caſe, where, by the Courſe of the Court and the Rules of Juſtice, it was not warranted. And for the *Canary* Patent, and the Original, and all the Proceedings thereupon, ſo much is ſaid in the Body of this Diſcourſe according to the Time it was tranſacted in *, that there needs no Repetition of it in this Place.

The fourth Article. THE FOURTH Article was, *that He had adviſed and procured divers of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſoned againſt Law in remote Iſlands, Garriſons and other Places; thereby to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to introduce Precedents for impriſoning of other of his Majeſty's Subjects in like Manner.*

* Page 254, Fol. &c.

To

To which He ſaid, He knew not what Anſwer to make to that Article, it being ſo general, and no particular Perſon being named: But, He ſaid, it was generally known, that He had never taken it upon him to commit any Man to Priſon, but ſuch who, by the Courſe of the Chancery, for Matters of Contempt are juſtly and neceſſarily to be committed. It was probable that He had been preſent at the Council-Board, when many Perſons had been ordered to be committed, and whoſe Commitment hath by the Wiſdom of that Board been thought juſt and neceſſary; and therefore He was not to anſwer apart for any Thing done by them. Only He might ſay, that He was frequently of Opinion that the Commitments were very neceſſary: And it was notoriouſly known, that by ſuch Commitments ſome Rebellions or Inſurrections had been prevented; and that other Perſons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for High Treaſon, had upon their Examinations and at their Death confeſſed, that their Purpoſe had been to riſe in Arms at ſuch and ſuch Times, if their Friends upon whom They had principally relied had not been then committed to Priſon. And, He ſaid, He did well remember, that it was thought fit that moſt of the Perſons who ſtand attainted for the Murder of the late King, his Majeſty's Royal Father, ſhould be removed out of the *Tower*, and diſperſed into ſeveral Iſlands and Garriſons: And if any other Perſons had been likewiſe ſent thither, He preſumed it was upon ſuch Reaſons, as upon a due Examination thereof would make it appear to be very juſt. *His Anſwer.*

THE FIFTH Article was, *That He had corruptly ſold ſeveral Offices contrary to Law.* *The fifth Article.*

THIS He poſitively denied. *His Anſwer.*

THE SIXTH was, *That He had procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty was* *The ſixth Article.*

not in Strictneſs bound; and that He had received great Sums of Money for procuring the ſame.

His Anſwer. To this He ſaid, He had never had any Thing to do in the diſpoſing his Majeſty's Cuſtoms or any other Part of his Revenue, except for ſome ſhort Time after his Majeſty's firſt Arrival in *England*; when He, amongſt others of the Lords of the Council, was a Commiſſioner for the Treaſury: During which Time there was no Farm let of any of the Revenue, and the Cuſtoms were put into the Hands of Commiſſioners, to the End that a Computation might be made as near as was poſſible of the full Value of them, before that it ſhould be put into a Farm, which every Man conceived would be fit to be done as ſoon as might be. The White Staff was ſhortly after given to the Earl of *Southampton* (to whom his Majeſty had deſigned it before He returned), and the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer to the Lord *Aſhley*, the Lord Chancellor having reſigned it into his Majeſty's Hands, which He had been poſſeſſed of for many Years in the Time of the late King, and retained it till after his Majeſty's Return: And from the Time that thoſe two Officers of the Revenue were made, which determined the former Commiſſion, He never intermeddled in the Cuſtoms, or in any other Branch of the Revenue; except when the King commanded him to be preſent in ſome Conſultations which He had with the Lord Treaſurer, and when there were other Lords of the Council preſent. That excellent Perſon, the Lord Treaſurer, always reſorted to the King for his Direction, in all Matters of the leaſt Difficulty which occurred to him in the Adminiſtration of his Office; and frequently did deſire to confer with the Chancellor (with whom He was known to have held a long and a faſt Friendſhip) upon many Particulars of his Office, believing that He was not altogether ignorant in that Adminiſtration, with which He had been formerly ſo well acquainted. And that He conceived might be the Reaſon, why He did oftentimes procure

procure him to be joined with him in References from the King, upon Matters wholly relating to his own Office. But the Chancellor did never then ſuffer any particular Application to be made to him in thoſe Caſes, nor had ever ſecret Conferences with any Perſons who were concerned in thoſe Pretenſions.

WHAT was meant *by his having procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty was not in Strictneſs bound*; He ſaid, He could not imagine, except it did relate to the Payment of a Debt due from his late Majeſty to ſome of the Farmers. In which though He had no more to do, than in giving Information and his particular Advice to his Majeſty, in the Preſence of the Lord Treaſurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other of the Lords, and ſo was not himſelf reſponſible for what his Majeſty did thereupon; yet He thought himſelf obliged upon this Particular, which ſo much concerned the Honour and Juſtice of the late King and of his preſent Majeſty, to enlarge, and relate all He knew of what their Majeſties did, and what induced his preſent Majeſty to do his Part in it.

HE ſaid, it was notoriouſly known, that before the late Troubles, and in the very firſt Entrance into them, his Majeſty was neceſſitated to borrow very great Sums of Money from his then Farmers of his Cuſtoms, and to oblige them to ſtand perſonally bound for many other great Sums of Money, which other Men lent to his Majeſty upon their Security. That thereupon, and for the Repayment of thoſe Sums which the Farmers had advanced, and for ſecuring them from any Damage for thoſe Monies which others had lent upon their Obligations; his late Majeſty, with the Advice of the then Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had granted a farther Leaſe of his Cuſtoms to thoſe Farmers for three or four Years to come, after the Expiration of their former Leaſe; with a Covenant on his Majeſty's Part, to pay the juſt Intereſt for all

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ſuch Monies as were advanced by them, or for which They ſtood bound; and likewiſe that They ſhould, out of their growing Rent, deduct ſuch Sums of Money by the Year, as They had lent or been bound for, according to ſuch Proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that ſhortly after the Beginning of the Parliament in 1640, and before the Commencement of the ſecond Leaſe, the Houſe of Commons did not only force the ſaid Farmers to pay a very great Sum of Money for their Preſumption in receiving Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe in the former Years, when They pretended ſuch Payments were not due; but took alſo from them their new Leaſe granted to them by the King, and ſo left (485) them without any Capacity of reimburſing themſelves of the Money They had lent, and likewiſe at the Mercy of their Creditors to whom They ſtood bound; many of whom quickly began to exerciſe that Severity towards them, that many of the poor Gentlemen had their Eſtates extended upon Judgments and Recognizances, and their Perſons taken in Execution and committed to Priſon; where ſome of them who had been known to have great Eſtates, as Sir *Paul Pindar* and others, were forced to end their Lives.

THERE were very few Circumſtances in the late King's Misfortunes, which gave him more Trouble, or ſo much afflicted him as the Senſe He had of the horrid and unjuſt Sufferings thoſe poor Gentlemen underwent for him, and their Affection for his Service; which He often publickly mentioned, and as often declared, "that He held himſelf obliged to make "them full Reparation as ſoon as God ſhould enable "him." And He frequently ſpake to the Chancellor, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of that Affair; of the good Opinion He had of the Men, and of the great Services They had done for his Majeſty; and commanded him expreſsly, when it ſhould fall within his Power, He ſhould do them all the Right He could. And of this He had often informed his Majeſty

Majeſty during the Time He was abroad, and after his Return, without any other Motive than his Father's Command and his own Honour, having himſelf never had any Degree of Friendſhip with any of the Perſons concerned, and a very ordinary Acquaintance with ſome of them. Upon his Majeſty's happy Return, thoſe Gentlemen who were alive of the old Farmers, who were Sir *John Jacob*, Sir *Job Harby*, Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* and Sir *John Harriſon*, applied themſelves to the King, having lain ſeveral Years and at that Time remaining in Execution in ſeveral Priſons, and having had their Eſtates ſold, upon the Proſecution of thoſe Creditors to whom They were bound for Money lent to his Majeſty.

As ſoon as Meaſures were taken for collecting the Revenue, thoſe four Gentlemen named before, and two others who had ſerved his Majeſty very well, were appointed his Commiſſioners for the collecting the Cuſtoms and Duties upon Trade; in which Collection They continued a Year or thereabouts; during which Time many of their Creditors, who had generouſly forbore to proſecute them whilſt They were in Priſon and undone, begun now to commence their Actions againſt them, preſuming They were then or would ſhortly be able to ſatisfy them. Whereupon the King commanded the Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor, with ſome other Lords, to ſend for thoſe Creditors, and to declare to them, "that his Majeſty would in a "ſhort Time enable his Farmers to pay their juſt "Debts, which He well knew were contracted for his "Service; and that He would take it very well from "them, if They would for the preſent give no Ob-"ſtruction to his Service, by the Proſecution of thoſe "Perſons at Law, whoſe Time was ſolely taken up in "the neceſſary Service of his Majeſty." Whereupon They willingly deſiſted from that Proſecution; and many of them finding now, that by his Majeſty's Favour They were like to recover their Debts They before thought to be deſperate, They frankly remitted the

the Whole or Part of the Intereſt, that in Strictneſs of Law was ſtill due to them.

His Majeſty ſhortly after, finding it beſt for his Profit to determine the Collection by Commiſſion, and to let the Whole to Farm, gave Direction to the Lord Treaſurer to confer and treat with any fit Perſons who deſired to contract for the ſame. Many Overtures were made by ſeveral Perſons, and ſome applied themſelves directly to his Majeſty. Upon which, and after a competent Time in conſidering all that had been propoſed, the King appointed a Day, when He would be attended by the Lord Treaſurer and other of the Lords, and when all the Pretenders ſhould likewiſe be preſent, and He would then and there declare his own Judgment; having firſt declared to the Commiſſioners, whereof four were the old Farmers to whom ſo much Money was due, "that whoſoever "ſhould take the Farm, They ſhould be obliged to "pay them their juſt Debt at ſuch Times, and by "ſuch Proportions, as their Service could bear. But "as to the letting the Farm itſelf, He would neither "conſider the Debt He owed them, nor the Suffer-"ings They had undergone, but only the Rent They "ſhould offer; which if as much as any Body elſe "would give, He would prefer their Perſons before "others; but if any other fit Men would offer more "than They thought fit to give, They ſhould be his "Farmers: And therefore wiſhed them well to con-"ſider what They would propoſe to him."

After two Days ſpent by his Majeſty with the ſeveral Pretenders apart, and finding that the Propoſitions made to him by the old Farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had ſerved with them as Commiſſioners, were at leaſt as much if not more for his Profit than any that had been made by any of the reſt; He did declare, that the Farm ſhould be let to thoſe who had been his Commiſſioners: Which at that Time was underſtood to be ſo far from being a good Bargain, that the two Commiſſioners, who were

not

not concerned in the great Debt, utterly refuſed to meddle with the Farm at ſo great a Rent; the other four publickly declaring at the ſame Time, "that "They would not give the Rent but in Contempla- "tion of their Debt, which They thought They ſhould "ſooner and better receive, when it ſhould be aſſigned "upon their own Collections, than when it ſhould be "charged upon new Farmers." But They were Suitors to his Majeſty, "that He would oblige the other two "(Sir *John Wolſtenholme* and Sir *John Shaw*) to be joint "Farmers with them;" which his Majeſty did, by making a gracious Promiſe to them, "that if They "ſhould be Loſers He would repair them:" And thereupon Directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a Grant accordingly. And, He ſaid, He did not know that there was one diſſenting Voice from what his Majeſty inclined to do upon the whole Matter, the ſame appearing to every Man to be moſt juſt and reaſonable.

THE Farm being thus ſettled, the old Farmers were directed "to bring their Accompts to the Lord Trea- "ſurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, by which it "ſhould manifeſtly appear how much the King was "juſtly and truly indebted to them, and how the "Debts were incurred; that ſo upon a juſt Computa- "tion ſuch Satisfaction might be made to them, as was "conſiſtent with the preſent State of his Majeſty's Af- "fairs and Occaſions." Many Months, if not a whole Year, were ſpent in the Examination of thoſe Accompts before the Auditors: Who, beſides the Exceptions They took for Want of ſome Formalities in the Proof of ſome Money paid, which after twenty Years of Licenſe (in which all their Books and Papers had been taken, their Houſes plundered, and their Perſons impriſoned; and in which ſo many Perſons employed by the King to receive and by them to pay Money were dead) could hardly be made with the uſual Exactneſs; made likewiſe ſeveral Certificates of particular Caſes, which required farther Directions. And the

Lord

Lord Treaſurer would never take upon himſelf to give thoſe Directions, only declaring to them, as He had frequently done, "that in Regard his Majeſty was not "ſtrictly bound in Juſtice to pay that Debt due from "his Father, but that his preſent Majeſty's generous "and Royal Diſpoſition had prevailed with him to "pay that juſt Debt, whereby They might be pre-"ſerved from Ruin, in which," He ſaid, "He had "fully concurred with his Majeſty; but that He "would never adviſe him, on the Contrary He would "always diſſuade his Majeſty from paying or allowing "any Intereſt, though paid by them, which would "ſwell the Debt to ſuch a Proportion, that his Ma-"jeſty could never undertake the Payment of it." Which Determination, how great ſoever their Loſs appeared to be, ſeemed to be ſo juſt, at leaſt ſo neceſſary for the King, that They wholly referred it to his Majeſty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their Creditors not to exact it from them, though the Sale of their whole Eſtates had made Satisfaction to others for the whole Intereſt, as well as for the Principal.

When the Auditors Certificate was ready, and all the Doubts and Queſtions that did ariſe thereupon were clearly ſtated, his Majeſty vouchſafed again to be preſent with the other Lords, who had from the Beginning aſſiſted in the Examination of that Buſineſs: And then the Lord Treaſurer declared to his Majeſty, what He had before ſaid to the Perſons concerned, "that "though He willingly approved his Majeſty's Good-"neſs in taking upon himſelf that great Debt, yet that "He would by no Means give his Advice or Conſent "that He ſhould pay or allow any Intereſt for it."

Upon the whole Matter, and upon all the Doubts ſtated to his Majeſty, and after the Rejection of ſeveral of the Sums of Money which were demanded by them, and for the Payment whereof ſuch direct Proof was not made as is required by the Courſe of the Exchequer (though, He ſaid, He thought moſt Perſons who were preſent were in their private Conſciences well ſatisfied,

that

that thoſe Sums had been in Truth paid to his Majeſty's Uſe, as had been alleged); there appeared to his Majeſty to be juſtly due to them the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds, Principal-Money, for almoſt twenty Years, and for which They had paid the Intereſt for many Years out of their own Eſtates. And his Majeſty thought it very juſt; and, with many gracious Expreſſions of his Purpoſe and Reſolution further to repair them as He ſhould be able, gave Order to the Lord Treaſurer, "that the ſaid Debt of two "hundred thouſand Pounds ſhould be paid to them "in five Years, that is, by forty thouſand Pounds for "every Year, out of the Rent of the Farm; and that "all Inſtruments neceſſary for their Satisfaction and "Security ſhould be preſently given to them, whereby "They might be able to comply with their Creditors, "and avoid their Importunity," wherewith his Majeſty begun to be troubled as much as themſelves.

HE did confeſs himſelf to have been preſent at thoſe Agitations, and to have contributed his humble Advice and Opinion to his Majeſty that He ſhould pay this Debt; which He thought himſelf obliged to do, as well as a faithful Counſellor to his preſent Majeſty, as in Diſcharge of his Duty and Obligation to his Father. And, He ſaid, He had very good Reaſon to believe, that if that two hundred thouſand Pounds be paid according to his Majeſty's Direction, and of which the Heirs and Executors of thoſe Farmers who are dead, as well as the four preſent Farmers, have their equal Proportions; the ſaid Perſons have not at this Day Half the Eſtates They had in the Year 1640, when They entered into thoſe Engagements for his Majeſty. Nor was there any one Perſon preſent at the Agitation of this Affair, who ſeemed in the leaſt Degree to differ in the Opinion, or to diſſuade his Majeſty from giving that Satisfaction for that Debt.

HE ſaid, He did likewiſe very willingly confeſs, that He had in the Manner aforeſaid, and being called to adviſe, given his Opinion for the Payment of many other

other conſiderable Debts incurred by his late Majeſty, and for which many Perſons of Honour, who adhered to him during that War, were perſonally bound for him, and whoſe Eſtates had been extended and their Perſons impriſoned for the ſame; many of whom were in Execution and in Priſon for the ſame when his Majeſty returned, and others were then ſued in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in his Majeſty's own Courts. His late Majeſty having granted under his Great Seal of *England*, to ſeveral Perſons intruſted for the reſt, many of his Foreſts, Parks and other Lands, for their Security and Indemnity who were or ſhould ſtand bound for him, for Money that was then borrowed for and applied to the neceſſary Support of himſelf and his Army, and to no other Purpoſe; in that Grant He had been particularly truſted, as well by the Deſire of the Perſons particulary concerned, as by his Majeſty's Command to be ſolicitous for their Satisfaction. And He did not deny, that He was never more glad, than when He was able to procure Satisfaction for thoſe Perſons who were ſo bound and ſo ſecured; nor more troubled, than that He could do no more, and that there remained ſtill ſo many unſatisfied, and almoſt undone, for thoſe Debts ſo contracted; of which Number He believed there were ſtill too many.

But having made thoſe clear Confeſſions of what was Truth, and what He did do in thoſe Tranſactions, He ſaid, He muſt as poſitively deny, that ever He procured or adviſed the letting his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, or any other Part of his Revenue, at Underrates: On the Contrary, that He uſed all the Ways He could to advance the Rents, without Reſpect of Perſons; and that He was never preſent at the letting any Farm that any Men would have given more for, than They did to whom it was let, what Offers ſoever were made afterwards, when his Majeſty himſelf had made a Contract, and when a Grant was iſſued accordingly under the Great Seal of *England*. And He did as poſitively deny, that ever He received or expected the leaſt Sum

of

of Money, or Money-worth, for any Leaſe made by his Majeſty of his Cuſtoms, or any other Part of his Revenue; or for the Payment of any one Debt made by his Majeſty, to which He was or was not bound: He having (He ſaid) never had any other Motive for the Performance of thoſe Offices, but the pure and entire Conſideration of his Majeſty's Honour, Juſtice and Profit, and his own Inclination to gratify worthy Perſons, who in Juſtice ought to be or might with Juſtice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been ſuch Perſons to whom He had had no Kind of Obligation.

THE SEVENTH Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money from the Company of Vintners, or ſome of them or their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Wines, and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties which They had incurred.* *The ſeventh Article.*

HE ſaid, if He had been in the leaſt Degree guilty of that Charge, it would very eaſily have been proved; and the Vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being Perſons who never thought themſelves beholden to him, and ſo not obliged to conceal any of his Corruptions. They well knew, that He could never be prevailed with to conſent to the enhancing the Prices of their Wines, and that He never had received from them the leaſt Sum of Money, or other Gratuity from them, in his Life. He ſaid, He did remember, that at a Time when his Majeſty had refuſed to grant all their other Petitions, the Company of Vintners did complain, "that there were ſo many Informations "againſt them proſecuted by Informers in the Exche-"quer, that They muſt give over their Trades, and "be likewiſe undone, if They ſhould be ſeverely pur-"ſued for what was paſt:" And therefore They beſought his Majeſty in Council, "that He would par-"don what was paſt; and that for the future They "would treſpaſs no more." Whereupon his Majeſty thought it worthy of his Mercy to ſhelter them for the preſent from that Proſecution; and thereupon commanded *His Anſwer.*

manded his Attorney General "to call the Informers "before him, and to appoint the Vintners to pay them "ſuch reaſonable Rewards for their Pains as He "thought fit; and thereupon He ſhould enter a *Noli* "*Proſequi*:" But his Majeſty charged them "for the "future not to run into the ſame Danger." And as this Grace from his Majeſty was not upon his Promotion, but purely from his own Bounty and Goodneſs, from which Nobody diſſuaded him; ſo He never received the leaſt Profit from the ſame.

The eighth Article. THE EIGHTH is, *That He had in a ſhort Time gained to himſelf a far greater Eſtate, than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in ſo ſhort a Time; and contrary to his Oath He had procured ſeveral Grants under the Great Seal from his Majeſty, to himſelf and to his Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his Majeſty.*

His Anſwer. To this He ſaid, that He wiſhed with all his Heart that the Truth of that Article (which He preſumed had drawn on all the reſt) were clearly known to all the World: And that They, who in Truth do believe that He hath ſo great an Eſtate, were well informed what it is; and They would then clearly diſcern that He needed not be aſhamed of having gotten ſuch an Eſtate, nor that He needed to have any Recourſe to any ill Arts or Means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that He had been ſo far from *procuring ſeveral Grants under the Great Seal of* England *from his Majeſty, to himſelf and his Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his Majeſty*; that He never moved his Majeſty in his Life for any one Grant to himſelf or any of his Relations. If his Majeſty's Royal Bounty had diſpoſed him to confer Somewhat of Benefit and Advantage upon an old Servant, who had waited upon his Father and himſelf near thirty Years in ſome Truſt and Employment; He ſaid, He hoped it ſhould not be imputed as a Crime in him to receive his Favours.

He

He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor Services He had ever done, or could do, were in any Degree proportionable to his Majeſty's Bounty: Yet ſince his Majeſty's Goodneſs had thought him fit for it, He hoped many others would think ſo too; at leaſt as fit as ſome Men, who had received greater Marks and Proportions of it than He had done, and who, though They might ſerve much better, had not ſerved ſo long.

HE ſaid, He forbore to enlarge upon that Charge, becauſe He conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by thoſe who did not believe it themſelves, to think his Eſtate to be very great, that the Information They received was without Ground: And whoever conſiders, that the firſt Year after the King's Return yielded juſtly more Profit to the Great Seal than He ever received in all the Years following, and ſome particular Acts of Bounty conferred on him by his Majeſty, without the leaſt Suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his Fault was greater in having no better an Eſtate, than that what He hath hath been gotten by Corruption. He ſaid, He hath none of his Majeſty's Lands, but what He had bought, for as much as any Body would pay for it, of thoſe who had the ſame granted to them by his Majeſty's Bounty, and that Grant confirmed to them by Act of Parliament. And He preſumed that it could not have fallen from his Majeſty's Memory, and was
(1690) ſure was well known to ſome Perſons of Honour yet alive, that when his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, upon his firſt coming over, to offer him ſome Land that had never yielded any Thing to the Crown, He abſolutely refuſed to receive it, becauſe it was generally thought to be of great Value; and therefore He would not expoſe himſelf to the Envy which naturally attends thoſe Donations, having in Truth never had an immoderate Appetite *to make Haſte to be rich*; and had as much apprehended the being accuſed of Witchcraft or Burglary, as of Bribery and Corruption.

In a Word; He did declare, that, his Debts being discharged, for which He paid Interest, all his Estate was not worth, being sold, the Money that He had received from his Majesty's own Royal Bounty, and far from being suitable to the Quality He yet held, and which was never obtained by his own Ambition, as many Persons of Honour could testify.

The ninth Article. The Ninth Article was, *That He had introduced an arbitrary Government in his Majesty's foreign Plantations; and had caused such as complained thereof before his Majesty and his Council, to be long imprisoned for so doing.*

His Answer. To this He said, that though He could not possibly comprehend the full Meaning of that Article, yet because He had heard of many Discourses made of the Authority that He assumed to himself over the Plantations, and the great Advantage and Benefit that He had drawn to himself from thence, He was very willing to take that Occasion to relate all that He knew, and all that He had done, with Reference to any of his Majesty's Plantations; declaring in the first Place, that at his Majesty's Return, and before, He had used all the Endeavours He could to prepare and dispose the King to a great Esteem of his Plantations, and to encourage the Improvement of them by all the Ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And He had been confirmed in that Opinion and Desire, as soon as He had a View of the Entries in the Customhouse; by which He found what a great Revenue accrued to the King from those Plantations, insomuch as the Receipts from thence had upon the Matter repaired the Decrease and Diminution of the Customs, which the late Troubles had brought upon other Parts of Trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

The first Consideration that offered itself before the King that related to the Plantations, was concerning the *Barbadoes*; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as He had heard, with some Reflections upon

upon him of Partiality and Injuſtice, He ſaid, He would in the firſt Place ſet down all He knew in that Affair, and how He came to meddle in it.

BEFORE the Beginning of the late Troubles, the King had granted the Iſland of the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Carliſle* and his Heirs for ever, upon a Suppoſition that it had been firſt diſcovered, poſſeſſed and planted at his Charge: And the ſaid Earl ſent a Governour and People thither, and enjoyed it to his Death; and by his Will ſettled it for the Payment of his Debts, which were very great. The Troubles falling out in a ſhort Time after, little or no Profit had been drawn from thence towards the Satisfaction of thoſe Debts; and the Executors and Truſtees totally neglected the taking Care of it, or proſecuting the Plantation. But in and after the War many Citizens, Merchants and Gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themſelves from *England*, tranſported themſelves thither, and planted without aſking any Body's Leave, and without being oppoſed or contradicted by any Body.

ABOUT the Year 1647, or thereabouts, the late Earl of *Carliſle*, Son and Heir of the former Earl, to whom the Inheritance of that Iſland belonged, treated (191) with the late Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, how that Iſland might be ſo huſbanded, that the Plantation might be advanced, and Profit made by it; which would at laſt rebound to himſelf, when the Debt ſhould be paid. The late King was then in the Hands of the Army: And with his Majeſty's Approbation and Conſent, it was agreed between the ſaid Earl and the ſaid Lord, "that a Leaſe ſhould be "made by the Earl of *Carliſle* to the Lord *Willoughby*, "of all the Profits which ſhould ariſe out of that Plan- "tation, for the Term of twenty one Years or there- "abouts; a Moiety of the whole Profits to be re- "ceived by the Lord *Willoughby* himſelf for his own "Uſe, in Recompenſe for his Pains and Charge. "And He was likewiſe to receive a Commiſſion from

"the ſaid Earl, to be Governour of that and the reſt "of the *Caribbee* Iſlands" (all which were comprehended in the Charter granted by the King to the Earl of *Carliſle*); "and that a Commiſſion ſhould be "likewiſe procured from the King or the Prince of "*Wales*, by which the Lord *Willoughby* was to be "conſtituted Governour of the ſaid Iſlands."

About that Time the Fleet in the *Downs* returned to their Obedience to the King, withdrawing themſelves to the Coaſt of *Holland* to offer their Service to the Prince of *Wales*, his Majeſty that now is; the Lord *Willoughby* then likewiſe coming over to him, to ſerve him in any Condition his Highneſs would employ him in. That Summer being paſſed without any good Succeſs, the Lord *Willoughby* then informed the Prince of what had paſſed between the Earl of *Carliſle* and him with the King his Father's Conſent; which his Highneſs had likewiſe received from his Majeſty himſelf, with much Recommendation of the Lord *Willoughby*. He ſaid, He was then attending upon the Prince in *Holland*, as one of the King's Council aſſigned by his Majeſty for that Service. Upon the underſtanding this whole Caſe, the Prince, upon the unanimous Advice of the Council, thought fit to grant a Commiſſion of the Governour of the *Barbadoes* and the other Iſlands, as He deſired: And He had the more Reaſon to deſire it (notwithſtanding the Earl of *Carliſle's* Grant and Commiſſion), becauſe the principal Planters upon the *Barbadoes* had been Officers in the King's Army, or of manifeſt Affections to him, and always looked upon as of his Party.

With this Commiſſion the Lord *Willoughby* had, at his great Charge and Expenſe, tranſported himſelf to the *Barbadoes*, and was there received as Governour; and made a Contract with the Planters, "that "ſo much ſhould be paid upon the Hundred to the "Earl of *Carliſle*," to whom the Property of the Whole belonged. But before this Agreement could be well executed, or any Profit drawn from thence, the

the Iſland was reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament and of *Cromwell*, and a Governour appointed by them; the Lord *Willoughby* being ſent into *England*, where He remained till the King's Return, and had given unqueſtionable Evidence of his Affection to the King's Service, for which He had often been committed to Priſon before and after *Cromwell's* Death.

As ſoon as the King returned, the Lord *Willoughby* (who had then eight or nine Years to come of his Leaſe formerly granted to him by the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was then likewiſe living, and ready to do any other Act to the Lord *Willoughby's* Advantage) reſolved to return himſelf to the *Barbadoes*, and deſired the King to renew his Commiſſion to him for the Government; which his Majeſty was very willing to do, as to a Perſon He eſteemed very much, and who had ſpent very much of his own Fortune, as was notoriouſly known, in that Service. But the *Barbadoes* and all thoſe other Iſlands were now become of another (492) Conſideration and Value, than they had been of before the Troubles: The *Barbadoes* itſelf was (by that Confluence and Reſort thither as was mentioned before) ſo fully planted, that there was no Room for new Comers, and They had ſent very many of their People to the other Iſlands to plant; many Citizens of *London* had raiſed very great Eſtates there, and every Year received a very great Revenue from thence; and the King's Cuſtoms from that one Iſland came to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

ALL theſe Men, who had entered upon that Plantation as a waſte Place, and had with great Charge brought it to that Perfection, and with great Trouble, begun now to apprehend, that They muſt depend upon the Good-Will of the Earl of *Carliſle* and Lord *Willoughby* for the Enjoyment of their Eſtates there, which They had hitherto looked upon as their own. All theſe Men joined together in an Appeal to the King, and humbly prayed "his Protection, and that

"They might not be oppreſſed by thoſe two Lords." They pleaded, "that They were the King's Subjects; "that They had repaired thither as to a deſolate "Place, and had by their Induſtry obtained a Live- "lihood there, when They could not with a good "Conſcience ſtay in *England*. That if They ſhould "be now left to thoſe Lords to ranſom themſelves "and compound for their Eſtates, They muſt leave "the Country; and the Plantation would be de- "ſtroyed, which yielded his Majeſty ſo good a Re- "venue. That They could defend themſelves by "Law againſt the Earl of *Carliſle's* Title, if his Ma- "jeſty did not countenance it by a new Grant of the "Government to the Lord *Willoughby*: And there- "fore They were Suitors to his Majeſty, that He "would not deſtroy them by that Countenance."

At the ſame Time, the Creditors of the late Earl of *Carliſle*, (whoſe Debts were to be ſatisfied by the Profits of that Plantation, by the Will and Settlement of the ſaid Earl) petitioned the King, "that They might "be in the firſt Place provided for: Their Principal- "Money due to them at the Death of the Earl "amounted to no leſs than fifty thouſand Pounds, of "which They had never yet received one Penny; "and therefore that the Profits which ſhould ariſe "ought in the firſt Place to be applied to them, "there having been many Families utterly ruined for "Want of their Monies ſo due to them." The King appointed to hear all their ſeveral Pretences at the Council-Board, where They all attended with their Council: And after his Majeſty had ſpent three or four Days himſelf in hearing the ſeveral Allegations; finding new Pretences and Difficulties every Day to ariſe (which ſhall be mentioned anon), the King appointed ſeveral of the Lords of the Council "to con- "ſider of the whole Matter, and to confer with the "ſeveral Parties, and, if it were poſſible, to make "an End between them by their own Conſent; other- "wiſe to report the ſeveral Titles to his Majeſty,

"with

"with ſuch Expedients as in their Judgments They "thought moſt like to produce a general Satisfac- "tion, without endangering the Plantation," the Preſervation whereof his Majeſty took to Heart. The Chancellor was one of that Committee, and took very much Pains in reading the Charters, Grants and Leaſes, and many other Papers and Diſpatches which concerned that Affair; and conferred with ſeveral of the Perſons intereſted; to the End that He might the better diſcern what could be done, having never underſtood or heard any Thing of the Matter, or that concerned that Plantation, otherwiſe than what He hath before ſet down upon the Diſpatch of the Lord *Willoughby* to *Holland*; nor had He the leaſt Inclination or Bias to any Party. Upon the hearing all the Allegations before the Lords, the ſeveral Pretences and Titles appeared to them to be theſe; which They afterwards reported to the King.

(493) THE Lord *Willoughby* demanded Nothing from the King, but his Commiſſion to be Governour for the Remainder of the Years which had been granted to him by the Earl of *Carliſle*; to the End that He might receive one Moiety of thoſe Profits which ſhould ariſe to the Earl, and which had been aſſigned to him with the Conſent and Approbation of the late King, and of his Majeſty that now is; upon which He had undertaken that Voyage, and ſpent ſo much of his Eſtate.

THE Earl of *Carliſle*, whilſt this Contention was depending, died, and by his Will deviſed his Intereſt in the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, who likewiſe petitioned the King for the Preſervation of his Right: But neither He, nor the Perſon under whom He claimed, had any Pretence till all the Debts ſhould be ſatisfied; nor did the Earl of *Kinnoul* demand any Thing till then, but believed the Profit would ariſe yearly to ſo much, that the Debts would quickly be ſatisfied, and then the Whole was to come to him.

THERE

THERE was another Title that preceded the Earl of *Carliſle's*, which was that of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who alleged, and proved it to be true, "that "the *Barbadoes* and thoſe adjacent Iſlands were firſt "granted by the King to his Grandfather the Earl of "*Marlborough*, who was then Lord High Treaſurer "of *England*, before the Earl of *Carliſle* had any Pre-"tence thereunto; and that the Lord Treaſurer had "afterwards conſented that the ſame ſhould be "granted to the Earl of *Carliſle*, upon a full Con-"tract, *that He ſhould firſt receive for ever the Sum of* "*three hundred Pounds by the Year out of the firſt Profits* "*of the Plantations*; which Sum of three hundred "Pounds had never been yet paid: And therefore "the Earl of *Marlborough* deſired, as Heir to his "Grandfather, to have Satisfaction for the Arrears, "and that the growing Rent might be ſecured to "him."

THE Creditors were of two Kinds: The firſt, and who had firſt petitioned the King, as was ſaid before, had an Aſſignment made to them by the Executors and Truſtees of the Earl of *Carliſle* upon his Will, and who at his Death owed them the full Sum of fifty thouſand Pounds or thereabouts. The other Creditors conſiſted of ſeveral Tradeſmen and Artificers, to whom the ſaid Earl was indebted for Wares and Goods which They had delivered for his Uſe; and of ſeveral Servants for their Arrears of Wages: And all thoſe had, during the late Troubles, exhibited their Bill in Chancery againſt the Executors and Overſeers of the late Earl, and had obtained a Decree in that Court for their Satisfaction out of the Profits of thoſe Plantations (which Decree ſtood confirmed by the late Act of Judicial Proceedings); and, as He remembered, their Debts amounted to thirty thouſand Pounds or thereabout. None of the Creditors in general, of one or the other Sort, had ever received one Shilling from the Time that the Earl had firſt aſſigned it.

THE

THE Planters inſiſted poſitively, "that the Charter "granted to the Earl of *Carliſle* by the King was void "in Point of Law:" For which their Council alleged many Reaſons. And having ſpent much Time upon that Argumentation, They concluded with two humble Propoſitions to the King. (1.) "That his "Majeſty would give them Leave to proſecute in his "Name in the Exchequer, and at their own Charge, "to repeal that Grant to the Earl of *Carliſle*; by "which They ſhould be freed from the arbitrary "Power and Oppreſſion which would be exerciſed "upon them under the Colour of that Charter, and "his Majeſty might receive a great Benefit to him-"ſelf, by taking the Sovereignty into his own Hands, "to which it belonged. And in that Caſe They of-"fered in their own Names, and for the reſt of the "Planters who were in the Iſland, to conſent to an (494) "Impoſition of ſo much in the Hundred, which "They confidently averred would amount in the Year "to ten thouſand Pounds at the leaſt; out of which "his Majeſty's Governour might be well ſupported, "and his Majeſty diſpoſe of the Overplus as He "ſhould think fit." (2.) "If his Majeſty would not "ſuffer the Charter to be repealed, that He would "leave thoſe who claimed under the Earl of *Carliſle's* "Patent to their Remedy at Law, and leave the "Planters to their own Defence; which They hoped "in Juſtice could not be denied to them, ſince They "alone had been at the Charge to ſettle the Planta-"tion, which brought every Year ſo great a Revenue "to the Crown, when the Earl had not been at the "leaſt Expenſe thereupon: And if his Majeſty ſhould "not aſſiſt their Pretences with his Royal Authority, "They muſt all quit the Plantation."

THESE being the ſeveral Pretences of the ſeveral Perſons, and Nothing being to be done by Agreement between themſelves, their Intereſts being ſo diſtinct and inconſiſtent with each other; his Majeſty thought fit, in the firſt Place, to refer the Conſidera-

tion

tion of the Validity and Legality of the Patent to his Council at Law; who, upon full Deliberation and after the Hearing of all Parties, returned their Opinion "that their Patent was void, and that his Ma-"jesty might take the same into his own Power." This Report was no sooner made to his Majesty, but that He very graciously declared, "that He would "not receive from hence any Benefit or Advantage to "himself, until all their Pretences had received Sa-"tisfaction; and that He would make no farther Use "of avoiding the said Charter, than to dispose the "Profits of the Plantation to those, who in Justice "had any Pretence in Law or Equity to receive the "same: And therefore that the Lord *Willoughby* "should proceed in his Voyage to the *Barbadoes*, and "should receive according to his Bargain a Moiety of "the Profits; and that the other Part should be dis-"posed of for the Satisfaction of the Debts and other "Incumbrances." In Order to which, his Majesty appointed the same Committee of the Lords to meet again, and to adjust the several Proportions.

When They met again, They had all the Persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any Occasion; and They all appeared very glad that the King had taken the Care and Protection of the Plantation upon himself, which was all the Security the Planters had or could desire. And the Lords first Care was, to make some Computation that might be depended upon, as to the yearly Revenue that would arise upon the Imposition within the Island. But the Planters would not be drawn to any particular Agreement in that Point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every Hundred; but on the Contrary declared, "that too much had been "undertaken in that Kind by one of their own Num-"ber, Mr. *Kendall*, in his Discourse before the King "in the Council," and declared "that the Plantation "could not bear the Imposition He had mentioned. "That whatsoever was to be done of that Nature was

to

"to be tranſacted by an Aſſembly in the Iſland: And "that all that They could promiſe for themſelves "was, that They would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours "with their Friends in the Iſland, that when the Lord "*Willoughby* ſhould arrive there and call an Aſſembly, "They ſhould conſent to as great an Impoſition as "the Plantation would bear: by which," They ſaid, "a good Revenue would ariſe to the King for the "Purpoſes aforeſaid."

THE Creditors had great Reaſon to be glad of the Reſolution his Majeſty had taken: For though it would be a long Time before They could be fully ſatisfied out of a Moiety of the Profits, though it ſhould ariſe to the higheſt Computation, yet in Time They ſhould receive all, and ſhould every Year receive ſome; which would leſſen their Debt, and relieve thoſe who were in the higheſt Neceſſities, of which there was a great Number. Whereas They had hitherto in ſo many Years received not one Penny: And it was evident, that without his Majeſty's Authority They never ſhould, ſince the Planters were reſolved never to conſent to any Impoſition, nor ſubmit to any Authority that ſhould be exerciſed under the Earl of *Carliſle's* Patent, without a due Courſe of Law; the Way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And They underſtood well enough, that, without his Majeſty's Grace and Bounty to them, the Repeal or avoiding the Earl of *Carliſle's* Patent would put a quick End to all their Pretences.

THE greateſt Difficulty that did ariſe was from the Earl of *Kinnoul*, to whom the laſt Earl of *Carliſle* had deviſed theſe Iſlands by his Will: And He had a great Mind to go thither himſelf, and take Poſſeſſion of his Right; and his Council had perſuaded him, "that "the King's Charter granted to the firſt Earl of *Car-*"*liſle* was good and valid in Law, and that They be-"lieved They could defend and maintain it in any "Court of Juſtice." Then his own Eſtate in *Scotland* was ſo totally loſt by the Iniquity of the Time, and

his

his Father's having ſo frankly declared himſelf for the King, when very few of that Nation loſt any Thing for their Loyalty, that He had very little left to ſupport himſelf; and therefore was willing to retire into any Place abroad, where He might find but a bare Subſiſtance. But when He conſidered again, that He could have no Pretence to any Thing till after the Creditors were fully ſatisfied, and how long it was like to be before They could be ſatisfied, there remaining ſtill due to the Creditors of Both Kinds no leſs than fourſcore thouſand Pounds, Principal-Money: He did not believe that his inſiſting upon the Patent would be worth the Charge and Hazard He muſt inevitably be put to: And therefore, upon farther Deliberation with his Friends, He willingly referred himſelf and all his Intereſt to the King's gracious Determination, as all the reſt of the Pretenders and intereſted Perſons had done.

THE Caſe being thus fully ſtated to the Lords, and every Man's Intereſt and Pretences clearly appearing before them, They conſidered ſeriouſly amongſt themſelves what They might reaſonably propoſe to the ſeveral Perſons, in Order to their Agreement amongſt themſelves; or, that proving ineffectual, what Advice They might reaſonably give his Majeſty. They were unanimouſly of Opinion, "not to adviſe his "Majeſty to cauſe the Patent to be called in Queſ-"tion: For though They doubted not, upon the "Opinion of his learned Council, that the ſame would "be judged void and illegal; yet They did not think it "a ſeaſonable Time, when the Nation was ſo active "and induſtrious in foreign Plantations, that They "ſhould ſee a Charter or Patent queſtioned and "avoided, after it hath been ſo many Years allowed "and countenanced, and under which it hath ſo long "flouriſhed, and was almoſt grown to Perfection. "And that ſince his Majeſty had declared, *that, not-*"*withſtanding any Right of his own, all poſſible Care*"*ſhould be taken for the Satisfaction of the Creditors,*

"*as*

"*as well as for the Preſervation and Support of the*
"*Plantation*; it would be equally equitable and ho-
"nourable in his Majeſty, not to leave the Earl of
"*Kinnoul* the only Perſon unconſidered, and bereaved
"of all his Pretence. But that They would humbly
"move his Majeſty, that He would graciouſly vouch-
"ſafe to aſſign ſome preſent Maintenance to the ſaid
"Earl, which his unhappy Condition required, out
"of the Revenue that ſhould be there ſettled, and
"until the Debts ſhould be paid; and that after that
"Time ſuch an Augmentation might be made to
"him, as his Majeſty in his Royal Bounty ſhould
"think fit: In Conſideration whereof, the Earl ſhould
(496) "procure the Patent to be brought in and ſurrender-
"ed;" which He promiſed ſhould be done accord-
ingly, as ſoon as the Settlement ſhould be made of
that Proportion which ſhould be aſſigned to him.

"THAT the Lord *Willoughby* ſhould enjoy the Be-
"nefit of his former Contract with the Earl of *Carliſle*,
"and approved by his Majeſty, during the Remain-
"der of thoſe Years which are not yet expired; that
"He ſhould make what Haſte He could thither, and
"call an Aſſembly, to the End that ſuch an Impoſi-
"tion might be agreed upon to be paid to his Ma-
"jeſty as ſhould be reaſonable, in Conſideration of
"the great Benefit They had already and ſhould ſtill
"enjoy, in being continued and ſecured in their ſe-
"veral Plantations, in which as yet They were as it
"were but Tenants at Will, having no other Pre-
"tence of Right but the Poſſeſſion: And therefore,
"that thoſe Merchants and Planters who had peti-
"tioned the King ſhould, according to their Obli-
"gation and Promiſe made by them to his Majeſty,
"uſe all their Credit with thoſe in the Iſland, that the
"Impoſition might ariſe to ſuch a Proportion, that
"the Revenue might anſwer the Ends propoſed; and
"that one Moiety of that Revenue ſhould be enjoyed
"by the Lord *Willoughby* for his Term."

"THAT

"THAT the Annuity of three hundred Pounds by "the Year ſhould be paid to the Earl of *Marlborough*, "according to the original Contract mentioned be- "fore; and that the Aſſignment, that his Majeſty "would likewiſe be pleaſed to make to the Earl of "*Kinnoul*, ſhould be firſt paid: And then that the "Remainder of that Moiety ſhould be received to the "Uſe of the Creditors. And that when the Lord "*Willoughby's* Term ſhould be expired, his Majeſty "ſhould be deſired, after the Reſervation of ſo much "as He ſhould think fit for the Support of his Go- "vernour, that all the Remainder might be conti- "nued towards the Creditors, until their juſt Debts "ſhould be paid."

THESE Particulars appearing reaſonable to the Lords, all Perſons concerned were called, and the ſame communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: And thereupon the Lords reſolved to preſent the ſame to his Majeſty, which They did accordingly at the Board; and his Majeſty with a full Approbation and Advice of the whole Council ratified the ſame. Whereupon that Order was made by the King in Council, which comprehends all the Particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the Lord *Willoughby*, with his Majeſty's expreſs Command, "that He ſhould ſee it punctually and pre- "ciſely executed;" and the like Order was delivered by the Clerk of the Council to every other Perſon mentioned, who deſired the ſame: To which Order He did for the more Certainty refer himſelf, being in no Degree confident (having then no other Help than his Memory), that all was ſet down with that Exactneſs as it ought to be. And, He ſaid, as He had throughout the whole Affair taken very great Pains to reduce it to that Agreement, which at that Time ſeemed to be ſatisfactory to all the Perſons concerned, ſo He had not the leaſt Temptation of particular Benefit to himſelf; and He did ſtill believe it to be very juſt, reaſonable, and agreeable to his Majeſty's

jeſty's Juſtice and Goodneſs, all Circumſtances being conſidered. And though it may be, in Strictneſs of Law, and by the avoiding the Grant made to the Earl of *Carliſle*, his Majeſty might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Iſland, without any tender Conſideration of the Planters or the Creditors; He ſaid, He was not aſhamed that He had never given his Majeſty that or the like Counſel, in that or any other Matter of the like Nature; and if He had, He was confident his Majeſty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

THE other Part of that Article, *That He had cauſed ſuch as complained of the arbitrary Government in the Plantations before the King and Council, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing*, did refer, He ſuppoſed, to the Commitment of one *Farmer*; who, being ſent over a Priſoner by the Lord *Willoughby* in a Ship that came from thence, made his Appearance at *Oxford*, his Majeſty being then there in the Sickneſs-Time, which, He ſaid, was the firſt Moment that He had ever heard of the Man or the Matter. And at the ſame Time one of the Secretaries of State received a Letter from the Lord *Willoughby*, which was ſent by the ſame Ship, in which his Lordſhip had ſent a direct, full Charge of Mutiny, Sedition and Treaſon, againſt the ſaid *Farmer*; and by his Letter informed the Secretary of all his Behaviour and Carriage, with all the Circumſtances thereof; and "that He had, by his "ſeditious Practices, prevailed ſo far upon a diſaffected "Party in that Iſland, that the Lord *Willoughby* found "himſelf obliged in the Inſtant to ſend him on Board "the Ship, without which He did apprehend a ge-"neral Revolt in the Iſland from his Majeſty's Obe-"dience:" And He did therefore deſire, "that *Far-"mer* might not be ſuffered to return thither before "the Iſland ſhould be reduced to a better Temper." The Man was called in before the King and Council, and the Charge that the Lord *Willoughby* had ſent read to him, the greateſt Part whereof He could not deny;

deny; and in his Diſcourſe upon it He behaved himſelf ſo peremptorily and inſolently before the King, that his Majeſty thought it very neceſſary to commit him; nor did any one Counſellor then preſent appear to think otherwiſe.

And He did confeſs, that the diſcharging him from his Impriſonment was ſome Time afterwards moved, and that He was always againſt his Diſcharge; being of Opinion that it would be impoſſible for the Lord *Willoughby*, or any other Governour in any of the Plantations, to preſerve his Majeſty's Right and to ſupport the Government, if He ſhould be ſo far diſcountenanced, that a Man, being ſent over by him as a Priſoner under ſo particular and heinous a Charge, ſhould be upon his Appearance here ſet at Liberty. But his Opinion was, "that He ſhould be ſent back "a Priſoner thither, that He might be tried by the "Law and Juſtice of the Iſland, and receive condign "Puniſhment for his Offence:" And, He ſaid, He could not deny but that He was ſtill of the ſame Opinion; and, if it were an Errour, it proceeded from the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding, which was not in his Power to reform.

He ſaid, what He had here ſet down was all that occurred to his Memory with Reference to the Iſland of the *Barbadoes*, which being not particularly mentioned in the Article, but comprehended under the general Expreſſion of his Majeſty's foreign Plantations, and ſecretly and maliciouſly inſinuated in private Diſcourſes, He took himſelf to be obliged to give ſome Anſwer to what, how generally ſoever, had been charged. And He hoped it would not be imputed as a Crime to him, if He had taken more Pains than other Men in that important Service of his Majeſty concerning his foreign Plantations, which He did not think had been enough taken to Heart: And if his Deſire and Readineſs to take any Pains, or give any Aſſiſtance to the Advancement of that Service, had induced many Perſons to apply themſelves

to

to him on thoſe Occaſions, He hoped it ſhould not be charged upon him as Over-Activity, or Ambition to engroſs more Buſineſs into his Hands than He was entitled to; for which He had this Excuſe to make for himſelf, that He found the Pains He took to be acceptable to his Majeſty. And He was ſo far from having any particular Deſign of Advantage to himſelf, that He did profeſs and declare, that from all or any of his Majeſty's Plantations He never had the leaſt (8) Reward, or leaſt Preſent made to him; except that the now Lord *Willoughby* once told him, "that his "Brother had ſent over ſome Pieces of the ſpeckled "Wood which grows in *Surinam*, with Direction, "that if He liked it He might have what He would "of it;" whereupon He had ſome Pieces of it, which He thought might have been applied to the making of Cabinets or the adorning of Wainſcot (but as they were very ſmall, ſo the Middle of every Piece was wind-ſhaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any conſiderable Uſe); and except ſome Blocks of Walnut-Tree which the Governour of *Virginia* ſent to him, and of which He made ſome Table-Boards and Frames for Chairs; the Workmanſhip whereof coſt much more than the Wood was worth. And theſe two Particulars contained all the Rewards and Preſents or Profit, that ever He received from all his Majeſty's Plantations, or any Body to his Uſe.

THE TENTH Article was, *That He did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal and Undertaking approved by his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of* Nevis *and* St. Chriſtophers, *and reducing the* French *Plantations to his Majeſty's Obedience, after the Commiſſions were drawn for that Purpoſe; which was the Occaſion of ſuch great Loſſes and Damages in thoſe Parts.* *The tenth Article.*

To which He anſwered, that He never did reject or fruſtrate any ſuch Propoſal or Undertaking, never taking upon him in the leaſt Degree to make a Judgment of Enterpriſes of that Nature; nor was ever any *His Anſwer.*

ſuch Propoſition made to him. But He did very well remember, that his Majeſty himſelf did once deliver to the Council a Paper, which He ſaid one of his Servants (Mr. *Marſh*) had preſented to him, containing ſome Propoſitions for Ships and Men to be ſent by his Majeſty for the Recovery of *St. Chriſtophers*, which had been newly taken by the *French*. Upon the reading which Paper and Propoſitions, the ſame were referred to the Conſideration of the General, one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Vice-Chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. *Marſh*, and ſuch others as joined with him. And They were at the ſame Time appointed to conſider of another Propoſition delivered in Writing by the now Lord *Willoughby*, and ſome Merchants of *London* who were Planters in the *Barbadoes*, for the ſupplying and better ſecuring that Iſland, and the reſt of thoſe *Caribbee* Iſlands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the Enemy. Upon the latter of which Somewhat was afterwards done: And if the other concerning *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers* was rejected, of which, He ſaid, He knew Nothing, He preſumed it was, becauſe it either appeared unpracticable, or not conſiſtent with his Majeſty's other Affairs.

The eleventh Article.

THE ELEVENTH Article was, *That He adviſed and effected the Sale of* Dunkirk *to the* French *King, being Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there; and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth.*

His Anſwer.

THIS whole Tranſaction of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumſtances, is ſo fully related in this Diſcourſe, in the Place and at the Time when this Affair was tranſacted*, that any Repetition here is to no Purpoſe: And whoſoever turns back and reads it will clearly ſee, that He had no Hand in the Counſel; though He is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not neceſſary, as his Majeſty's Affairs at

See p. 383. of vol. 2.

* Page 201, &c. Fol.

that

that Time ſtood. To which may be added, that the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was an unqueſtionable Evidence, that that King did (499) never take himſelf to be beholden to him for that or any other Service; as in Truth He never was.

THE TWELFTH Article was, *That He did unduly cauſe his Majeſty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of* England *to one Dr.* Crowther *to be altered, and the Enrollment thereof to be unduly razed.* *The twelfth Article.*

To which He ſaid, that when He heard of this Charge, He could not comprehend what the Meaning thereof was, being moſt aſſured that He had never *cauſed any Alteration to be made in any of his Majeſty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or the Enrollment thereof to be razed.* But upon Inquiry He was informed, that Dr. *Crowther*, who was Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, and had attended upon his Perſon during the whole Time that his Highneſs was beyond the Seas, upon his Majeſty's Return into *England*, had obtained from the King his Royal Preſentation to the Parſonage of *Treddington* in the County of *Worceſter*; which Preſentation, according to Courſe, paſſed under the Great Seal of *England*. That when He brought his Action againſt the Intruder, who refuſed to give him Poſſeſſion, and the Record was carried down to the Aſſizes in the County; when the Doctor's Council were to open his Title, and thereupon to produce the King's Preſentation, They found upon Peruſal thereof, that either by Miſinformation or Negligence of the Clerk, inſtead of the County of *Worceſter*, where the Rectory was, the County of *Warwick* was inſerted: Upon which Miſtake the Doctor was neceſſitated to be nonſuited. And thereupon He forthwith made a Journey to *London* to adviſe with his Council, and the moſt experienced Clerks, how to recover the Misfortune that had befallen him, and that his Majeſty's Right might not be deſtroyed by ſuch an Overſight in the Clerk. And it ſeems He was by them adviſed, as the uſual Way in *His Anſwer.*

Caſes of that Nature, to petition the King, "that in "his Majeſty's Preſence the Preſentation might be "mended, and *Worceſter* inſerted inſtead of *Warwick*, "and that thereupon the Great Seal might be again "affixed to it;" all which was done accordingly, as in ſuch Caſes is uſual.

The thirteenth Article. THE THIRTEENTH Article was, *That He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into Queſtion divers of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, and Properties; determined thereof at the Council-Table, and ſtopped Proceedings at Law, and threatened ſome that pleaded the Statute of* 17 Car.

His Anſwer. To this He ſaid, He muſt here again lament his own Misfortunes, that He was expoſed to publick Reproach under a general odious Charge, without inſerting any one Particular to which He might make his Defence. He had therefore no more to ſay, but that He was very innocent as to any Crime laid to his Charge in that Article: And that He had been ſo far from *examining and drawing into Queſtion any of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties, and determining the ſame at the Council-Table, and ſtopping Proceedings at Law*; that He did not know or believe, that any one Caſe of that Nature had been ever determined there, at leaſt when He had been preſent. That He had always diſcountenanced ſuch Addreſſes, and procured all Petitions of that Kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: And, He ſaid, He took himſelf obliged to ſay, for the Vindication of his Majeſty's Honour and Juſtice, that there had not been ſo many Years paſſed, ſince the Erection of the Council-Table, with ſo little Diſturbance or Diſquiet to the Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Properties, as have been ſince his Majeſty's happy Return; nor hath the ordinary Courſe of Proceedings at Law been leſs obſtructed.

THE

THE FOURTEENTH Article was, *That He had cauſed* Quo Warrantos *to be iſſued out againſt moſt of the Corporations in* England, *to the Intent that He might receive great Sums of Money from them for renewing their Charters; which when They complied withal, He cauſed the ſaid* Quo Warrantos *to be diſcharged, and Proſecution thereon to ceaſe.* *The fourteenth Article.*

To this He anſwered, That He never cauſed any *Quo Warranto* to iſſue out againſt any one Corporation in *England*, but by his Majeſty's expreſs Command, or by Order of the Board; which was always upon ſome Miſcarriage or Miſbehaviour in the Corporation: And that He did not remember that He had ever moved the King againſt any particular Corporation but that of *Woodſtock*; and which his Duty to his Majeſty had obliged him to do, being intruſted by his Majeſty with the Command of his Houſe and Park there, and being his Majeſty's Steward of his Majeſty's Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, upon which that Borough had always depended. *His Anſwer.*

HE ſaid, his Majeſty having conferred that Charge upon him, He was no ſooner poſſeſſed of it by the Death of the late Earl of *Lindſey*, who enjoyed that Place before, than He received a Petition from ſeveral Inhabitants and Burgeſſes of the Borough of *Woodſtock*, who complained, "that the Mayor and Juſtices had "lately procured their Charter to be renewed, without "the Privity or Conſent of the Borough; and that "under Pretence of renewing it, They had procured "many new Clauſes to be inſerted, and thereby re-"duced much of the Government, which before de-"pended on the whole Corporation, into their own "Hands; and had thereby likewiſe procured a Piece "of Ground, the Benefit whereof did formerly belong "to all the Burgeſſes, and was uſually applied to the "Relief of ſuch of them who were decayed in their "Eſtates, to be now granted to the Mayor and a ſe-"lect Number of the Juſtices, and the Profits thereof "to be at their Diſpoſal, to the great Prejudice of the

"Borough and the Inhabitants thereof." He referred this Petition to Mr. Juſtice *Morton*, who lived within four or five Miles thereof, and deſired him to examine the Truth of thoſe Allegations, and to certify him whether the Complaints were juſt and reaſonable. Whereupon He took the Pains to go to the Town, and to confer with the Mayor and Juſtices, and heard the Allegations of the Petitioners; and upon the whole Matter certified, "that He found ſeveral im-"portant Alterations in the new Charter from what "had been in the old, and ſome new Conceſſions."

AND at the ſame Time Sir *William Fleetwood*, who was Ranger of the Parks, certified him, "that ſince the "renewing their Charter, the Mayor and Juſtices were "not ſo good Neighbours to his Majeſty's Game as "They had formerly been, and had withdrawn many "of thoſe Services which They had uſed to perform: "And that when any Treſpaſſes were committed by "thoſe of the Borough upon his Majeſty's Woods or "Game, which happened very frequently, and Com-"plaint was thereof made to the Mayor and Juſtices, "who had the ſole Juriſdiction within the Borough; "there was ſo ſlight and perfunctory Examination "thereof, that the Proſecutors were wearied out, and "no Juſtice could be obtained."

THAT it was his Duty to inform the King of thoſe Proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his Direction to his Attorney General to bring a *Quo Warranto*, and to repeal the Charter which had been ſo unduly procured, and in which his Majeſty had been ſo groſsly deceived and abuſed: And He did believe that there was the leſs Vigour uſed in the Proſecution of that *Quo Warranto*, becauſe the Mayor and Juſtices for ſome Time had pretended that They would ſurrender the ſaid Charter, and receive a new one in ſuch a Manner as his Majeſty thought fit, though They afterwards changed their Mind. And this was the only Charter, He ſaid, which He gave Direction for the Proſecution of.

NOR

NOR did He ever give Order, upon the Receipt of any Money, *to diſcharge any* Quo Warranto, *or cauſe the Proſecution thereupon to ceaſe:* Nor did He ever receive the leaſt Sum of Money for the granting or renewing any Charter, other than the uſual Fees received for the ſame by the Clerk of the *Hanaper*, and accounted to the Seal; which Fee, as He did remember, did amount to thirteen Shillings and four Pence, or thereabouts.

THE FIFTEENTH Article was, *That He procured the Bills of Settlement for* Ireland, *and received great Sums of Money for the ſame, in a moſt corrupt and unlawful Manner.* *The fifteenth Article.*

To this Article there needs no other Anſwer than what is contained in two † ſeveral Places of this Diſcourſe, in which ſo full a Relation is made of the whole Settlement of *Ireland*, with all the Circumſtances that accompanied it, that it would be to no Purpoſe to repeat it in this Place. And therein it appears what Money the Chancellor received from *Ireland*, and how He came to receive any, and by what Injuſtice He came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the King himſelf, but to very many of thoſe, who promoted the Accuſation directly contrary to what They knew to be true. *His Anſwer.*

THE SIXTEENTH Article was, *That He had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War.* *The ſixteenth Article.*

To which He ſaid, that He did heartily wiſh that thoſe particular Treaties, and the Particulars in thoſe Treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that He had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty, that He might at large have ſet down whatſoever He had known or done in thoſe Treaties; and then it would eaſily have been made appear, how far He had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any Ambition of his own that brought him to *His Anſwer.*

† Page 57, &c. and Page 102, &c. Fol.

have

have a Part in any Treaty: He ſaid, God knew, that He heartily wiſhed to have meddled in Nothing, but the Adminiſtration of that great Office the King had thought fit to have truſted him with. But his Majeſty had then ſo good an Opinion of him, that He required and commanded his Service in many of thoſe Treaties: And therefore it would be neceſſary for him, according to the Method He had hitherto uſed, to mention every particular Treaty that had been entered into ſince the Time of his Majeſty's Return into *England*, and the Part that He had in it; being as willing to be called to the ſtricteſt Account for any other Treaty He had been engaged in when He had been abroad, or for any Counſel He had ever given in his Life, publick or private; wherein He doubted not, He ſhould be found to have behaved himſelf (according to the weak Abilities God had given him) with Fidelity to his Maſter, and with all imaginable Affection to his Country, how unhappily ſoever He had been repreſented.

THE firſt Treaty, He ſaid, was with the Crown of *Portugal*; in which He was none of the Commiſſioners who treated, and was only preſent when any Report was made by the Commiſſioners to the King or to the Council-Board, where all the Articles were debated; and He did not remember that there had been any Difference of Opinion upon any of them: And that (ſo) Treaty had been generally held the beſt that hath been made with any Crown, the Merchants having thereby greater Advantages in Trade than They have in any other Place, beſides many other great Benefits, with a great Enlargement of his Majeſty's Empire.

THE ſecond Treaty was with the *States* of the *United Provinces*; in which likewiſe He was none of the Commiſſioners who treated: But all that was by them tranſacted was ſtill brought to the Council-Board, and debated there in his Majeſty's Preſence; in which the Rule by which his Majeſty guided himſelf was, that He would not remit any of thoſe Conceſſions

which

which had been formerly made by them in their laſt Treaty with *Cromwell*; and their Unwillingneſs to conſent to that was the Reaſon that their Ambaſſadours proceeded ſo ſlowly. And his Majeſty had the leſs Reaſon to be ſolicitous for Expedition, becauſe the King of *France* had given his Royal Word, and propoſed it himſelf, "that the two Crowns might "proceed in the ſeveral Treaties with the *Dutch* toge- "ther, that ſo They might be brought to thoſe good "Conditions, that They might live like good Neigh- "bours with Both the Crowns, which," He obſerved, "They were not naturally inclined to do;" and pro- miſed poſitively, "that for his Part He would not con- "clude any Thing with the *Dutch*, before He had "entirely communicated the ſame to his Majeſty." Notwithſtanding which Engagement, *France* entered into and finiſhed their Treaty; and in it made that ſecret Article, which They declared afterwards to be the Ground of their Obligation to aſſiſt the *Dutch* in the enſuing War. However, his Majeſty proceeded not till the *Holland* Ambaſſadours conſented to all that had been before granted to *Cromwell:* Which being done, the Peace was made and ratified on Both Sides; and without Doubt was with more Advantage and Honour to the *Engliſh*, than ever had been provided by any former Treaty between the Crown of *England* and thoſe *States*.

FROM the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* Ambaſſadours Extraordinary arrived at *London* ſhortly after the King's Return, and the ſeveral Treaties were made with Both thoſe Crowns before the Departure of the Ambaſſadours: In neither of which Treaties the Chancellor was a Commiſſioner, nor knew any Thing that paſſed in either, but as it was repreſented at the Council-Board, and debated in his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did He ever hear that either of them was reckoned a diſadvantageous Treaty, Both of them containing as much Benefit to the *Engliſh* as any Treaties which had been made before with thoſe Crowns. He ſaid,

it

it was very true, that there were ſome unuſual Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Friendſhip in the Treaty with *Denmark*; which, in Reſpect of that King's being at that Time in a very low Condition, under the diſadvantageous Conditions of the Treaty at *Copenhagen* newly ſubmitted to, and under almoſt as ill a Treaty extorted from that Crown by the *Dutch*, and yet being in terrible Apprehenſion of ſome new Oppreſſion from the one and from the other, the Ambaſſadour did very earneſtly ſolicit to have inſerted; and which were upon great Deliberation allowed and inſerted by his Majeſty's own particular Direction, in Conſideration of the near Alliance in Blood between his Majeſty and that King, and the Civilities and Obligations his Majeſty had received from *Denmark*, during his being in *Holland* after the Murder of his Father, and during his being in *Scotland*, when the King of *Denmark* ſent him Horſes, Arms and Ammunition. Of which his Majeſty had ſo great a Senſe, that He was often heard to ſay, "that if it had pleaſed God to have brought him "Home before that diſadvantageous Peace at *Copen-* "*hagen* had been made" (which had been done by the Countenance of the *Engliſh* Ships, and the Threats of thoſe who were then Ambaſſadours from the governing Power in *England*), "He would have done the beſt He "could to have defended and protected him:" And therefore He did very readily yield to that Article drawn by the Ambaſſadour; his Majeſty declaring at the ſame Time, "that He was very willing that thoſe "Princes, who were Neighbours to *Denmark*, and "from whom that Kingdom apprehended new Op- "preſſions, ſhould know his Majeſty's Reſolutions to "ſupport that King, and to defend him from new "Injuries;" to which the Policy of his Government, as well as his Friendſhip, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the King of *Denmark* did ſhortly after make very ill Returns to his Majeſty for that his ſo ſignal Affection.

THESE

THESE were all the Treaties made by the King before the War with the *Dutch* (for there was very little Progreſs made either with *France* or *Spain* for the Reaſons mentioned before), except only a ſhort Treaty with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; which Treaty was, for the moſt Part, particular with Reference only to the Prince of *Orange*, his Majeſty's Nephew, and for the better ordering his Affairs. In which Treaty his Majeſty likewiſe employed five or ſix of his Council: And the few Articles between his Majeſty and that Elector in Point of State were likewiſe tranſacted by them, and debated and conſidered at the Council-Board, and in which all Things were inſerted for his Majeſty's Benefit and Service; and if They had not been afterwards violated by the Elector, the King would have reaped much Fruit and Advantage even from that Treaty.

AFTER the War was entered into with *Holland*, his Majeſty ſent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*, to diſpoſe thoſe two Crowns to a Confidence in each other, and then to diſpoſe them Both to adhere to his Majeſty, or at leaſt not to aſſiſt or favour the *Dutch*. The Treaty with *Sweden* ſucceeded to his Majeſty's Wiſh, and was concluded in a League defenſive, very much to the King's Satisfaction, and with the full Approbation of the whole Board; that Crown having manifeſted ſo much Affection, and ſuch an Inclination to an entire Conjunction with him, that upon very reaſonable Conditions They would have been induced to have entered into a League offenſive, and even into the preſent War againſt the *Dutch*: In Order to which, They ſent their Ambaſſadours to the King at the ſame Time when Mr. *Coventry* returned, and They became the Mediators for the Peace; having firſt declared to his Majeſty, "that if the Treaty ſhould prove ineffectual, "the Crown of *Sweden* would immediately join with "his Majeſty againſt the *Dutch*." What became of the other Treaty with *Denmark* is publickly known, his

his Majeſty having declared to all the World how perfidiouſly He was treated by the *Dane*.

THERE remains only one other Treaty to me mentioned, which is the laſt with the *Dutch*, upon which the Peace was made: And therefore it will be neceſſary to ſet down the Inducements to that Treaty, the whole Progreſs and Concluſion of it; by all which it will eaſily appear that his Majeſty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if He were, that it was not done by him.

AFTER ſo many Encounters and various Succeſſes in the War, which had been carried on with a much greater Expenſe than his Majeſty at his firſt Entrance into it was perſuaded it would coſt him; when He ſaw the Strength and Power of the *Dutch* ſo much increaſed by the Conjunction of *France* and *Denmark*, who ſupplied them with Money, Ships, and, what They more wanted, with Men as many as They deſired; and that all the Propoſitions He could make to *Spain* could not induce them to enter into ſuch an Alliance with him, as might embark them againſt *France*, notwithſtanding it was evident to all but themſelves, that the *French* reſolved to break the Peace with them, having at that Time publiſhed thoſe Declarations which They afterwards made the Ground of the War: His Majeſty clearly diſcerned, that the *Dutch* grew leſs weary of the War than They had before ſeemed to have been; and that They would be able, with that Aſſiſtance and Conjunction, to continue the War with leſs Inconvenience than his Majeſty was like to do.

HE had found it neceſſary for ſtreightening the Trade of the Enemy (the depriving them of which could only induce them to deſire a Peace, and which He could not do by the Strength of his own Ships, which were ſtill kept together to encounter their Fleet), to grant Commiſſions upon Letters of Marque to as many private Men of War as deſired the ſame, and with ſuch ſtrict Orders and Limitations as are neceſſary in thoſe

thoſe Caſes; and He found indeed the Advantage very great, in the Damage thoſe Men of War did to the Enemy, which was conſiderable, and gave them great Trouble. On the other Side, the common Seamen choſe much rather to go on Board thoſe Men of War, where their Profit out of their Shares of the Booty was greater, and their Hazards much leſs, than in the King's Ships, where They got only Blows without Booty, though their Pay and Proviſions were much greater than They had been in any former Time: So that when the Royal Fleet was to be ſet out, there was greater Difficulty in procuring Seamen and Mariners to man it.

AND then, whereas the Advancement of Trade was made the great End of the War, it was now found neceſſary to ſuppreſs all Trade, that there might be Mariners enough to furniſh the Ships for the carrying on the War. And this Inconvenience produced another Miſchief: For by the great Diminution and even Suppreſſion of Trade, there was likewiſe ſo great a Fall in the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and all other Branches of the King's Revenue, that it was evident enough that his Majeſty would have little to carry on the War, but what ſhould ariſe by Impoſition in Parliament upon the People; who already complained loudly of the Decay of their Rents, of the ſmall and low Prices which their Commodities yielded by the Ceſſation of Trade, and eſpecially by the carrying all the Money *in Specie* from the ſeveral Counties to *London* for the carrying on the War. And the Parliament itſelf appeared ſo weary of it, that inſtead of granting a new Supply proportionable to the Charge, They fell upon Expedients to raiſe Money by the Sale of Part of the King's Revenue, which was already too ſmall to ſupport the ordinary and neceſſary Expenſe of the Crown.

BUT above all, his Majeſty was moſt diſcouraged by the extreme Licenſe of the Seamen in general; but eſpecially of thoſe who were called Privateers, ſet out in the particular Ships of War upon Adventure, who made

made no Diſtinction between Friends and Foes; but, as if the Sea had been their own Quarters, They ſeized upon all Ships which paſſed within their View, and either pillaged them entirely and ſo diſmiſſed them (which They uſually did to thoſe which They foreſaw would be delivered by the Courſe of Juſtice), or elſe brought them into the Harbours, after They had taken from them what They beſt liked. And then the formal Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty were ſo dilatory, and involved in ſo many Appeals, that the Proſecution of Juſtice for Injuries received grew as grievous as the Injury itſelf; which drew an univerſal Clamour from all Nations, "that without "being Parties to the War They were all treated as "Enemies."

FRANCE had made the Damage They had this Way (o received, and the Interruption of their Trade, a great Part of their Quarrel, and one Ground of their Conjunction with the *Dutch*. From *Spain*, which really wiſhed better to us than to our Enemies, the Complaints were as great; "that their whole Trade was "deſtroyed; their Ships of *Flanders*, which ſupplied "*Spain* with what They wanted for themſelves, and "with what was neceſſary for their Trade and Inter-"courſe with the *Indies*, were all taken as *Dutch*, be-"cauſe it was very hard to diſtinguiſh them by their "Language:" Which was likewiſe the Caſe of all the *Hanſe-Towns*, which made grievous Complaints, and had without Doubt received great Damage. Thoſe Princes of *Italy* whoſe Dominions reached to the Sea, as the two Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Florence*, expoſtulated very grievouſly for their Ships taken by thoſe Freebooters of *Scotland* and of *Ireland*, Both which Nations enriched themſelves very much upon ſuch Depredations. And how much ſoever the Royal Navy was weakened every Day, the Number of thoſe Men of War wonderfully increaſed; ſo that thoſe Kind of Ships, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, covered the whole Ocean: And

of

of thoſe Ships which were taken and carried into *Scotland* or *Ireland* (in *England* there were many Redeliveries), it was obſerved, that there were *Veſtigia nulla retrorſum.* Even *Sweden* itſelf, with whom a new ſtricter Alliance was entered into at that Time, with as ſevere Reſtrictions to that Licenſe of the Men of War as could be contrived for the Liberty and Security of the Trade of that Crown, complained exceedingly of the Violation of all thoſe Conceſſions and Proviſions, and that their Ships were every Day taken and plundered. And this univerſal Complaint began to awaken all Princes to a Jealouſy, that the *Engliſh* endeavoured to reſtrain all Trade, till They could make themſelves the entire Maſters of it, and by their naval Power put ſome Impoſitions upon the whole Traffick of *Europe.*

IT is very true, at the firſt Entrance into the War there had been many unſkilful Expreſſions even in the Parliament itſelf, as well as in the frequent Diſcourſes of Parliament Men, "that by this War, and "by ſuppreſſing the Power of the *Dutch* at Sea" (of which They made not the leaſt Doubt), "the King "would be able to give the Law to all the Trade of "the World, and that no Ships ſhould paſs the Sea "without paying ſome Tribute to *England:*" Which Liberty and Raſhneſs of Diſcourſe made great Impreſſion upon thoſe who wiſhed Miſchief enough to the *Dutch*, till They ſaw what Danger might enſue to themſelves by the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon wiſhed that They might break themſelves upon each other, without Advantage to either Party. And this general Diſtemper and Complaint made the deeper Impreſſion upon the King, by his diſcerning an extreme Difficulty, if not an Impoſſibility, to give any juſt Remedy to it; and conſequently, that He ſhould be ſhortly looked upon as a common Enemy.

HE had taken very great Pains, upon deliberate Conſultations, to ſuppreſs that odious Irregularity and deſtructive Licenſe that was practiſed amongſt the Seamen,

men, and had in many particular Cases himself examined the Excess, and caused exemplary Justice to be done upon the Offenders, and Restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no Justice could preserve the injured Persons from being Losers. He had granted such Rules and Privileges and Protection to the Ports in *Flanders*, and to others of his Allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full Security; but then He quickly found, that from those very Ports and in those very Ships which enjoyed those Privileges, the Trade of the *Dutch* was driven on: So that it was evident that by that Liberty, which other Nations thought themselves in Justice entitled to, if not restrained, the *Hollanders* themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole Trade in the Ships of *Flanders*, *Hamburgh*, and the other free Towns, or in their own Ships owned by the other; and that the Restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total Suppression of those Men of War, and a Revocation of all Commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the Freedom and Security of Trade to all his Majesty's Enemies.

In the last Encounter at Sea, the *Prince Royal*, and three other of his Majesty's Navy, had been lost; and another, the *London*, had been burned in the River by the Negligence of the Seamen; for there was never any Discovery made, that there was any Purpose or Malice in it. The *French* had obliged themselves, that the Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, should, with the whole Fleet under his Command, amounting to eighteen good Ships, join with the *Dutch*; and the King of *Denmark* was likewise engaged to send all his great Ships, which were Ten or a Dozen, in Order to the like Conjunction: So that it was evident to his Majesty, that the Enemy would be much superiour to him in Strength and Power, though He had been able to have manned and set out all his Royal Navy; which He well foresaw He should not be able to do, both for Want of Money and Want of Seamen, who were already

ready in great Diſorder and Mutiny for Want of their Pay, of which there was indeed a great Arrear due to them. And, which was worſe, there was grown ſuch an Animoſity amongſt the principal Officers of the Fleet between themſelves, that the whole Diſcipline was corrupted; ſo that it was hard to reſolve into what Hands to put the Government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

UPON which, and the whole State of Affairs, and upon Deliberation and frequent Conſultation with the principal Officers of the Sea, and ſuch others whoſe Experience in ſuch Matters rendered them moſt capable to give Advice, the King found it moſt counſellable to reſolve to make a defenſive War the next Year, and to lay up all his great Ships, and to have ſome Squadrons of the lighter Veſſels to continue in ſeveral Quarters aſſigned to them, which ſhould be ready to take all Advantages which ſhould be offered; and that there ſhould be likewiſe ready in the River another good Squadron of Ships againſt the End of the Summer, which being ready to join with thoſe which lay out, when the Enemy was weary and their Ships foul, would be able to take many notable Advantages upon them; of which They who adviſed it were ſo confident, that They did believe this defenſive Way thus ordered and proſecuted would prove a greater Damage to the Enemy in their Trade, and all other Reſpects, than They had ever undergone. And in all this Counſel and Reſolution the Chancellor had no other Part than being preſent; and not underſtanding the Subject Matter of Debate could not be able to anſwer any of the Reaſons that had been alleged.

THESE Conſiderations, upon a full Survey of his ill Condition at Home and abroad, induced the King to wiſh that there were a good End of the War; of which Inclination his Majeſty vouchſafed to inform the Chancellor, well knowing that He would be very glad to contribute all He could to it, as a Thing He deſired moſt in this World, and which He thought would

prove the greateſt Benefit to the King and Kingdom; and his Majeſty likewiſe told him, "that He found "all thoſe, who had been moſt forward and impatient "to enter into this War, were now weary of it, and "would be glad of a Peace:" So that there remained now Nothing to do, but for his Majeſty to adviſe with thoſe whom He thought fit (for there ſeemed many Reaſons to conceal both the Inclination to Peace, and the Reſolution not to ſet out a Summer Fleet, from being publickly known), what Method to obſerve, and what Expedients to make Uſe of, for the better procuring this wiſhed for Peace, without appearing to be too ſolicitous or importunate for it, or ſo weary of the War as in Truth He was. And to this Conſultation the King was pleaſed to call together with his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Chancellor, the General, the Lord Treaſurer, and thoſe other honourable Perſons with whom He uſed to adviſe in his moſt ſecret and moſt important Affairs.

THAT which occurred firſt to conſider was, whether there were any Hope to divide the *French* from the *Dutch*; upon which Suppoſition the Proſpect was not unpleaſant, the War with one of them being hopefully enough to be purſued; the Conjunction was only formidable. And to this Purpoſe ſeveral Attempts had been made both in *France* and in *Holland*; Both Sides being equally reſolved not to ſeparate from each other, till a joint Peace ſhould be made with *England*, though They Both owned a Jealouſy of each other: Thoſe of *Holland* having a terrible Apprehenſion and Foreſight of the King of *France's* Deſigns upon *Flanders*, which would make his Greatneſs too near a Neighbour to their Territories; beſides that the Logick of his Demands upon the Devolution and Nullity of the Treaty upon the Marriage was equally applicable to their whole Intereſt, as it was to their Demands from the King of *Spain*. And *France*, upon all the Attacks They had made both in *France* with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour

baſſadour there, and in *Holland* by their own Ambaſſadour, found clearly, that They were to expect no Aſſiſtance from the *Dutch* in their Deſigns, and that at leaſt They wiſhed them ill Succeſs, and would probably contribute to it upon the firſt Occaſion: And this made them willing to put an End to their ſo ſtrict Alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable Advantage, except in weakening an Ally from whom They might probably receive more Advantage.

HOWEVER, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any Treaty apart, though They Both ſeemed willing and deſirous of a Peace; in Order to which, the *Dutch*, through the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours Hands, had writ to the King, "to offer a Treaty in "any ſuch neutral Place as his Majeſty ſhould make "Choice of;" profeſſing, "that They ſhould make "no Scruple of ſending their Ambaſſadours directly "to his Majeſty, but that their Conjunction with the "other two Crowns, who required a neutral Place, "would not admit that Condeſcenſion." And at the ſame Time They intimated to the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours "that the King of *France* would not ſend his "Ambaſſadours into *Flanders*, or any Place of the "King of *Spain's* Dominions;" and therefore wiſhed, "that his Majeſty would make Choice of *Duſſeldorp*, "*Cologne*, *Francfort*, or *Hamburgh*, or any other Place "that his Majeſty ſhould think more convenient than "the other, under that Exception:" All which Places, and in Truth any other out of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, were at ſuch a Diſtance (the Winter being now near over), that there could be no reaſonable Expectation of the Fruit of the Treaty in Time to prevent more Acts of Hoſtility.

How the Treaty came afterwards to be introduced by Overtures from *France*, and what Preliminaries were firſt propoſed from thence by the Earl of *St. Albans*, and how agreed to by his Majeſty; how the Place of the Treaty came to be adjuſted, the Ambaſſadours

choſen, and the whole Progreſs thereupon, and the Publication of the Articles of the Peace; is ſo particularly ſet forth in this Narrative before *, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the Ambaſſadours repairing (as is there ſaid) to the King, and giving him an Account of all that had paſſed before any Thing was concluded, and every Particular having been debated at the Council-Board and conſented to; He ſaid, He could not underſtand how his Majeſty could be deluded or betrayed in that Treaty which paſſed with ſuch a full Examination and Diſquiſition, and in all which Debates his Majeſty himſelf had taken the Pains to diſcourſe more, and to enlarge in the Anſwer to all Objections which were foreſeen, than He had been ever known to have done upon any other Article. (508)

It is very true, that the Chancellor had been commanded by the King to write moſt of the Letters which had been ſent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from the Time of his going over concerning the Treaty, his Lordſhip having likewiſe directed moſt of his Letters to him; and moſt of the Diſpatches to the Ambaſſadours were likewiſe prepared by him, They being by their Inſtructions (without his Deſire or Privity) to tranſmit all Accounts to one of the Secretaries or to himſelf. But, He ſaid, it was as true, that He never received a Letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his Majeſty's Preſence, to thoſe Lords of the Council who were aſſigned for that Service, where Directions were given what Anſwer ſhould be returned; and He never did return any Anſwer to either of them, without having firſt read it to the Council, or having firſt ſent it to one of the Secretaries to be read to his Majeſty. And He did with a very good Conſcience proteſt to all the World, that He never did the leaſt Thing, or gave the leaſt Advice, relating to the War, or relating to the Peace, which He would not have done if He had been to expire the next Minute, and to have given an Account thereof to God Almighty. (509)

* Page 400, *&c.* and Page 425, *&c.* Fol.

And

AND as his Majeſty prudently, piouſly and paſſionately deſired to put an End to that War, ſo no Man appeared more delighted with the Peace when it was concluded, than his Majeſty himſelf did; though (He ſaid) as far as He could make any Judgment of publick Affairs, the Publication of that Peace was attended with the moſt univerſal Joy and Acclamations of the whole Nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it eaſy to forget the general Conſternation that the City and People of all Conditions were in, when the *Dutch* came into the River as high as *Chatham*; and when the Diſtemper in the Court itſelf was ſo great, that many Perſons of Quality and Title, in the Galleries and Privy Lodgings, very indecently every Day vented their Paſſions in bitter Execrations againſt thoſe who had firſt counſelled and brought on the War, wiſhing that an End were put to it by any Peace; ſome of which Perſons, within very few Days after, as bitterly inveighed againſt the Peace itſelf, and againſt the Promoters of it. But, He ſaid, He was yet ſo far from repenting or being aſhamed of the Part He had in it, that He looked upon it as a great Honour, that the laſt Service He performed for his Majeſty was the ſealing the Proclamations, and other Inſtructions for the Concluſion and Perfection of that Peace, the Great Seal of *England* being that very Day ſent for and taken from him.

THE SEVENTEENTH and laſt Article was, *That He was a principal Author of that fatal Counſel of dividing the Fleet about* June 1666. *The ſeventeenth Article.*

FOR Anſwer to this, He ſet down at large an Account of all the Agitation that was in Council upon that Affair, and that the dividing and Separation of the Fleet at that Time was by the Election and Advice of the two Generals, and not by the Order and Direc- (509) tion of the Council: All which hath been at large, in that Part of this Diſcourſe which relates to the Tranſactions of that Time †, ſet down, and therefore needs not to be again inſerted. *His Anſwer.*

† Page 341, *&c.* Fol.

HE

He took Notice of the Prejudice that might befall him, in the Opinion of good Men, by his abſenting himſelf, and thereby declining the full Examination and Trial which the publick Juſtice would have allowed him; which obliged him to ſet down all the Particulars which paſſed from the taking the Seal from him, the Meſſages He had received by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and finally the Advice and Command the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* brought him from the Duke of *York* with the Approbation of the King. Upon all which, and the great Diſtemper that appeared in the two Houſes at that Time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, He did hope, that all diſpaſſioned Men would believe that He had not deſerted and betrayed his own Innocence; but on the Contrary, that He had complied with that Obligation and Duty which He had always paid to his Majeſty and to his Service, in chooſing at that Time to ſacrifice his own Honour to the leaſt Intimation of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and when the leaſt Inconvenience might have befallen it by his Obſtinacy, though in his own Defence: And concluded, that though his Enemies, who had by all the evil Arts imaginable contrived his Deſtruction, had yet the Power and the Credit to infuſe into his Majeſty's Ears Stories of Words ſpoken and Things done by him, of all which He was as innocent as He was at the Time of his Birth, and other Jealouſies of a Nature ſo odious, that themſelves had not the Confidence publickly to own; yet, He ſaid, notwithſtanding all thoſe Diſadvantages for the preſent, He did not deſpair, but that his Majeſty, in his Goodneſs and Juſtice, might in due Time diſcover the foul Artifices which had been uſed to gain Credit with him, and would reflect graciouſly upon ſome poor Services (how over-rewarded ſoever) heretofore performed by him, the Memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the baniſhing him out of his Country, and forcing him to ſeek his Bread in foreign Parts at this Age, is a very ſevere Judgment. However, He

was

was confident that Poſterity will clearly diſcern his Innocence and Integrity in all thoſe Particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciouſly laid to his Charge by Men who did Nothing before, or have done any Thing ſince, that will make them be thought to be wiſe or honeſt Men; and will believe his Misfortunes to have been much greater than his Faults.

The Chancellor enjoys great Tranquillity of Mind in his Baniſhment.

As ſoon as He had digeſted and tranſmitted this his Anſwer and Vindication to his Children, which He did in a ſhort Time after his Arrival at *Montpelier*, He appeared to all Men who converſed with him to be entirely poſſeſſed of ſo much Tranquillity of Mind, and ſo unconcerned in all that had been done to him or ſaid of him, that Men believed the Temper to be affected with much Art; and that it could not be natural in a Man, who was known to have ſo great an Affection for his own Country, the Air and Climate thereof; and to take ſo much Delight and Pleaſure in his Relations, from whom He was now baniſhed, and at ſuch a Diſtance, that He could not wiſh that They ſhould undergo the Inconveniences in many Reſpects which were like to attend their making him many Viſits. But when there was viſibly always in him ſuch a Vivacity and Cheerfulneſs as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon ſuch ill News as came every Week out of *England*, of the Improvement of the Power and Inſolence of his Enemies; all Men concluded, that He had Somewhat about him above a good Conſtitution, and proſecuted him with all the Offices of Civility and Reſpect They could manifeſt towards a Stranger.

Two Apprehenſions give him ſome Uneaſineſs.

(510) THERE were two Inconveniences which He foreſaw might happen, and could not but diſcompoſe the Serenity of his Mind. The firſt, and that which gave him leaſt Apprehenſion, though He could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the Trouble of thoſe Thoughts which could not be ſeparated from it, was, how He ſhould be able to draw as much Money out of *England* as would ſupport his Expenſe; which, though

1. The Inſufficiency of his Fortune.

though huſbanded with as much Frugality as could be uſed with any Decency, He foreſaw would amount to a greater Proportion than He had propoſed to himſelf. His Indiſpoſition and Infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and ſharp Viſitation of the Gout, or, when the Vigour of that was abated, in much Weakneſs of his Limbs when the Pain was gone, were ſo great, that He could not be without the Attendance of four Servants about his own Perſon; having, in thoſe Seaſons when He enjoyed moſt Health and underwent leaſt Pain, his Knees, Legs and Feet ſo weak, that He could not walk, eſpecially up or down Stairs, without the Help of two Men; and when He was ſeized upon by the Gout, They were not able to perform the Office of watching: So that to the *Engliſh* Servants which He had brought with him, which with a Cook, and a Maid to waſh his Linen, amounted to ſix or ſeven, He was compelled to take four or five *French* Servants for the Market and other Offices of the Houſe; and his Lodging coſt him above two hundred *Piſtoles*. But all the Apprehenſions of this Kind were upon ſhort Reflections compoſed, in the Aſſurance He had of the Affection and Piety of his Children, who He believed out of his and their own Eſtate would raiſe enough for his unavoidable Diſburſements.

This ſoon removed by his Confidence in the Piety of his Children.

2. *The Fear of being again perſecuted abroad.*

THE other Apprehenſion ſtuck cloſer to him, and made him even tremble in the very Reflection. He could not forget the Treatment He had between *Calais* and *Roan*, and the ſtrange violent Importunity that was uſed to him to get out of the Kingdom, when He had not Strength to get out of his Bed. And though He was now at Eaſe from ſuch inhuman Preſſures; yet his Enemies, who had even extorted that Importunity from a People not inclined to ſuch Incivilities, had ſtill the ſame Power, and the ſame Malice, and a froppiſh Kind of Inſolence, that delighted to deprive him of any Thing that pleaſed him, and manifeſtly pleaſed itſelf in vexing him. And if

They

They ſhould again prevail with the ſame Miniſters to remove him from his Quiet, and oblige him to new Journies, the ſame Spirit would chace him from Place to Place; there being none in View like to be ſuperiour to their Influence, when *France* had been ſubdued by it. So that beſides the Impoſſibility of preſerving the Peace and Repoſe of his Mind in ſo grievous a Fatigue, and continual Torture of his Body, He ſaw no Hope of Reſt but in his Grave. And againſt this Kind of Tyranny He could by no reaſonable Diſcourſe with himſelf provide any Security, or Stock of Courage to ſupport it.

HIS Friend the Abbot *Mountague*, who was the only Advocate He had to that Court, uſed all his powerful Rhetorick to allay thoſe Fears, and to comfort him againſt thoſe melancholick Apprehenſions, by aſſuring him, "that the Miniſters were far from "ſuch Inclinations, and that Nothing but Reaſon of "State could diſpoſe them to that Severity:" Yet He prepared him not to think of removing from *Montpelier*, without firſt acquainting that Court with it. And when afterwards He propoſed to him, "that He "might have Leave to reſide in *Orleans*, or ſome other "City, at ſuch a nearer Diſtance from *England*, that "his Children or Friends might more eaſily repair to "him;" the Court did not like the Propoſition, but propoſed *Molins*, whither They would not yet give (U) him a Paſs, till firſt their Ambaſſadour in *England* ſhould know that it would not be unacceptable to his Majeſty: So that He found himſelf upon the Matter not only baniſhed from his Country, but confined to *Montpelier*, without any Aſſurance that He ſhould not be again ſhortly baniſhed from thence.

This removed by an entire Reſignation to Providence.

HOWEVER after He had revolved all the Expedients that occurred to him for the Prevention of ſuch a Miſchief, He concluded there was no other Remedy to be applied to thoſe Contingencies, than in acquieſcing in the good Pleaſure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no Diſcretion

tion or Foreſight of his own could prevent. And in this Compoſure of Mind He betook himſelf to his Books, and to the Entertainment and Exerciſe of ſuch Thoughts, as were moſt like to divert him from others which would be more unpleaſant.

Reflections on his undeſerved Treatment.

God bleſſed him very much in this Compoſure and Retreat. And the firſt Conſolation He adminiſtered to himſelf was, from the Reflection upon the wonderful and unuſual Proceedings and Proſecution that had been againſt him, in another Kind of Manner, and after another Meaſure, than uſed to be practiſed by the moſt bitter Enemies, and than was neceſſary to their Ends and Advantages who had contrived them: Not to mention the Malice and Injuſtice of their firſt Deſign of removing him from the Truſt and Credit He had with the King, and to alienate his Majeſty's Affection and Kindneſs from him, to which the corrupt Hopes and Expectation of Benefit to themſelves might incline them; and then ſuch unrighteous Ends cannot naturally be proſecuted but by as unrighteous Means. When They were not only privy to but Contrivers of his Eſcape, which They looked upon as attended with more Benefit to them than his Impriſonment, or the taking his Life, could have been; when They were ſecure of his Abſence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the Bill of Baniſhment, by which They broke their Faith and Promiſes to the King, and made him depart from his own Reſolutions: To what Purpoſe was all their other Proſecution of him both at Home and abroad, more derogatory to the King's Honour, and that innate Goodneſs of Nature and Clemency that all Men know He abounds in, than miſchievous to him? Why muſt He be abſurdly charged with Counſels and Actions, of which He could never be ſuſpected? And why muſt his Name be ſtruck out of all Books of Council, and Catalogues and Liſts of Servants, that it might not appear that He had ever been a Counſellor of State, or a Magiſtrate of Juſtice; a

Method

Method that was never practiſed towards the greateſt Malefactor? To what worthy or neceſſary End could that exorbitant Demand be made and purſued in *France*, to expoſe him and the Honour of that Crown to the general Reproach of all Men, with ſuch unparallelled Circumſtances?

Which raiſe his Confidence in God.

THESE very extraordinary Attempts and unheard of Devices ſeemed to all wiſe Men but the laſt Effort of vulgar-ſpirited Perſons, and the faint graſping of impotent Malice; and inſtead of depreſſing the Spirits of him They hated, raiſed his Confidence, that God would not permit ſuch groſs Inventions of very ill and ſhortſighted Men to triumph in the Ruin of an honeſt Man, whoſe Heart was always fixed upon his Protection, and whom He had ſo often preſerved from more powerful Stratagems: And He did really believe, that the divine Juſtice would at ſome Time expoſe the Pride and Ambition of thoſe Men to the Infamy They deſerved.

He reflects on his Conduct from the Time of the King's Return.

To thoſe Perſons with whom He did with the moſt Freedom communicate, He did often profeſs, that upon the ſtricteſt Inquiſition He could make into all his Actions from the Time of the King's Return, when his Condition was generally thought to have (12) been very proſperous, though at beſt it was exerciſed with many Thorns which made it uneaſy, He could not reflect upon any one Thing He had done (amongſt many which He doubted not were juſtly liable to the Reproach of Weakneſs and Vanity), of which He was ſo much aſhamed, as He was of the vaſt Expenſe He had made in the Building of his Houſe; which had more contributed to that Guſt of Envy that had ſo violently ſhaken him, than any Miſdemeanor that He was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely diſcompoſed his whole Affairs, and broken his Eſtate. For all which He had no other Excuſe to make, than that He was neceſſitated to quit the Habitation He was in at *Worceſter-Houſe*, which the Owner required, and for which He had always paid

And blames himſelf chiefly for his Expenſe in Building.

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five hundred Pounds yearly Rent, and could not find any convenient Houſe to live in except He built one himſelf (to which He was naturally too much inclined); and that He had ſo much Encouragement thereunto from the King himſelf, that his Majeſty vouchſafed to appoint the Place upon which it ſhould ſtand, and graciouſly to beſtow the Inheritance of the Land upon him after a ſhort Term of Years, which He purchaſed from the preſent Poſſeſſor: Which Approbation and Bounty of his Majeſty was his greateſt Encouragement. And his own Unſkilfulneſs in Architecture, and the poſitive Undertaking of a Gentleman (who had Skill enough, and a good Reward for his Skill), that the Expenſe ſhould not amount to a third Part of what in Truth it afterwards amounted to, which He could without eminent Inconvenience have diſburſed, involved him in that raſh Enterpriſe, that proved ſo fatal and miſchievous to him; not only in the Accumulation of Envy and Prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the Entanglement of a great Debt, that broke all his Meaſures; and, under the Weight of his ſudden, unexpected Misfortune, made his Condition very uneaſy, and near inſupportable.

And this He took all Occaſions to confeſs, and to reproach himſelf with the Folly of it. And yet, when his Children and his neareſt Friends propoſed and adviſed the Sale of it in his Baniſhment, for the Payment of his Debts, and making ſome Proviſion for two younger Children; He remained ſtill ſo much infatuated with the Delight He had enjoyed, that, though He was deprived of it, He hearkened very unwillingly to the Advice; and expreſsly refuſed to approve it, until ſuch a Sum ſhould be offered for it, as held ſome Proportion to the Money He had laid out; and could not conceal ſome Confidence He had, that He ſhould live to be reſtored to it, and to be vindicated from the Brand He ſuffered under, except his particular compleat Ruin were involved in the general Diſtraction and Confuſion of his Country, of which He had a more ſenſible and ſerious Apprehenſion. He

HE was wont to ſay, "that of the infinite Bleſſings "which God had vouchſafed to confer upon him "almoſt from his Cradle," amongſt which He delighted in the reckoning up many ſignal Inſtances, "He eſteemed himſelf ſo happy in none as in his three "Acquieſcences," which He called *his three Vacations and Retreats He had in his Life enjoyed from Buſineſs of Trouble and Vexation*; and in every of which God had given him Grace and Opportunity to make full Reflections upon his Actions, and his Obſervations upon what He had done himſelf, and what He had ſeen others do and ſuffer; to repair the Breaches in his own Mind, and to fortify himſelf with new Reſolutions againſt future Encounters, in an entire Reſignation of all his Thoughts and Purpoſes into the Diſpoſal of God Almighty, and in a firm Confidence of his Protection and Deliverance in all the Difficulties He ſhould be obliged to contend with; towards the ob-(973)taining whereof, He renewed thoſe Vows and Promiſes of Integrity and hearty Endeavour to perform his Duty, which are the only Means to procure the Continuance of that Protection and Deliverance.

His three Acquieſcences, or Retreats from publick Buſineſs.

THE firſt of theſe Receſſes or Acquieſcences was, his remaining and reſiding in *Jerſey*, when the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majeſty, firſt went into *France* upon the Command of the Queen his Mother, contrary, as to the Time, to the Opinion of the Council the King his Father had directed him to govern himſelf by, and, as They conceived, contrary to his Majeſty's own Judgment, the knowing whereof They only waited for; and his Stay there, during that Time that his Highneſs firſt remained at *Paris* and *St. Germains*, until his Expedition afterwards to the Fleet and in the *Downs*. His ſecond was, when He was ſent by his Majeſty as his Ambaſſadour, together with the Lord *Cottington*, into *Spain*; in which two full Years were ſpent before He waited upon the King again. And the third was his laſt Receſs, by the Diſgrace He underwent, and by the Act of Baniſh-

ment,

The great Benefits He received in them.

ment. In which three Acquieſcences, He had learned more, knew himſelf and other Men much better, and ſerved God and his Country with more Devotion, and He hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active Part of his Life.

A ſummary Recapitulation of his Life.

He uſed to ſay, that He ſpent too much of his younger Years in Company and Converſation, and too little with Books; which was in ſome Degree repaired, by the greateſt Part of his Converſation being with Perſons of very eminent Parts of Learning and Virtue, and never with Men of looſe and debauched Manners. And He took great Pleaſure frequently to remember and mention the Names of thoſe with whom He kept moſt Company, when He firſt entered into the World; many whereof lived to be very eminent in Church and State: To whoſe Information and Example, and to the Affection, Awe and Reverence He had to their Perſons, He did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable in him. He did very much affect to be loved and eſteemed amongſt Men of good Name and Reputation, which made him warily avoid the Company of looſe and diſſolute Men, and to preſerve himſelf from any notable Scandal of any Kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *caſtè*. Nor was the Converſation He lived in liable to any other Exception, than that it was with Men ſuperiour to him in their Quality and their Fortunes, which expoſed him to greater Expenſe that his Fortune would warrant: And yet it pleaſed God to preſerve him from ever undergoing any Reproach or Inconvenience.

He accuſed himſelf of entering too ſoon out of a Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure and too much Idleneſs, into a Life of too much Buſineſs, that required more Labour and Experience and Knowledge than He was ſupplied for; for He put on his Gown as ſoon as He was called to the Bar; and, by the Countenance of Perſons in Place and Authority, as ſoon engaged himſelf in the Buſineſs of the Profeſſion as He put on his Gown, and to that Degree in Practice, that gave little

tle Time for Study, that He had too much neglected before; beſides that He ſtill indulged to his beloved Converſation. Few Years paſſed before the Troubles in *Scotland* appeared, and *The little Parliament* was convened; which being diſſolved and preſently a new one called, He was a Member in Both, and wholly gave himſelf up to the publick Affairs agitated there, and where He was enough eſteemed and employed, till the Spirit reigned there, and drove Men of his Principles from thence.

HE was entirely and without Reſerve truſted, with two other of his Friends, in all the Kings Affairs which related to the Parliament, before the Rebellion appeared; which brought him into Prejudice and Jealouſy with many of Both Houſes, who were before very kind to him. And in the Beginning of the Rebellion He was ſworn of the Privy Council and made Chancellor of the Exchequer: And from this Time the Pains He took, and the great Fatigue He underwent, were notorious to all Men; inſomuch as, the Refreſhment of Dinner excepted, for He never ſupped, He had very little of the Day, and not much of the Night, vacant from the moſt important Buſineſs.

WHEN the Prince was ſeparated from his Father, the King commanded him to attend his Highneſs into the *Weſt*, under more than a common Truſt: And the Inequality of Humours amongſt the Counſellors, the Wants and Neceſſities of the Prince his little Court and Family, the Want of Wiſdom in his Governour, that made him want that Reſpect from the Prince and all other People that was due to him, the Faction amongſt all the Country Gentlemen, and above all, the ill Succeſs in the King's Affairs, and the Prevalence of the Parliament in all Places, made the Province He had very uncomfortable and uneaſy. The unavoidable Neceſſity of tranſporting the Perſon of the Prince out of the Kingdom (which was intruſted only to four of the Council by the King, and

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by his Command reſerved from his Governour and another) when there ſhould be apparent Danger of his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, and the as neceſſary deferring it till that Danger was even in View, and the Deſigns of ſome of the Prince his Servants with the County to obſtruct and prevent it when it was in View; the executing of it in a ſeaſonable Article of Time before or in the Moment that it was ſuſpected, and diſguiſing it by a Retreat to *Scilly*, and ſtaying there till They could be provided for a farther Voyage; and then the Prince's Remove from thence to *Jerſey*, the Conteſts which happened there between the Counſellors upon the Queen's Commands for his Highneſs's preſent Repair into *France*, her Majeſty's declared Diſpleaſure, and the perſonal Animoſities which grew from thence between the Perſons in the greateſt Truſt, were all Particulars of that Weight and Diſtraction, that made great Impreſſion upon his Mind and Faculties, which needed much Reflection and Contemplation to compoſe them.

His firſt Retreat in the Iſland of Jerſey.

THIS firſt Retreat gave him Opportunity and Leiſure to call himſelf to a ſtrict Account for whatſoever He had done, upon revolving of all his particular Actions, and the Behaviour of other Men; and to compoſe thoſe Affections and allay thoſe Paſſions, which, in the Warmth of perpetual Actions and chafed by continual Contradictions, had Need of Reſt and cool and deliberate Cogitations. He had now Time to mend his Underſtanding, and to correct the Defects and Infirmities of his Nature, by the Obſervation of and Reflection upon the Grounds and Succeſſes of thoſe Counſels He had been privy to, upon the ſeveral Tempers and Diſtempers of Men employed both in the martial and civil Affairs of the greateſt Importance, and upon the Experience He had and the Obſervation He had made in the three or four laſt Years, where the Part He had acted himſelf differed ſo much from all the former Tranſactions and Commerce of his Life.

HE had originally in his Nature ſo great a Tenderneſs and Love towards Mankind, that He did not only deteſt all calumniating and Detraction towards the leſſening the Credit or Parts or Reputation of any Man, but did really believe that all Men were ſuch as They ſeemed or appeared to be; that They had the ſame Juſtice and Candour and Goodneſs in their Nature, that They profeſſed to have; and thought no Men to be wicked and diſhoneſt and corrupt, but thoſe who in their Manners and Lives gave unqueſtionable Evidence of it; and even amongſt thoſe He did think moſt to err and do amiſs, rather out of Weakneſs and Ignorance, for Want of Friends and good Counſel, than out of the Malice and Wickedneſs of their Natures.

BUT now, upon the Obſervation and Experience He had in the Parliament (and He believed He could have made the Diſcovery no where elſe, without Doubt not ſo ſoon), He reformed all thoſe Miſtakes, and mended that Eaſineſs of his Underſtanding. He had ſeen thoſe there, upon whoſe Ingenuity and Probity He would willingly have depoſited all his Concernments of this World, behave themſelves with that ſignal Uningenuity and Improbity that muſt pull up all Confidence by the Roots; Men of the moſt unſuſpected Integrity, and of the greateſt Eminence for their Piety and Devotion, moſt induſtrious to impoſe upon and to cozen Men of weaker Parts and Underſtanding, upon their Credit of their Sincerity, to concur with them in miſchievous Opinions, which They did not comprehend, and which conduced to diſhoneſt Actions They did not intend. He ſaw the moſt bloody and inhuman Rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the moſt ſolicitous and zealous for the Peace and Proſperity of the Kingdom, with ſuch Art and Subtilty, and ſo great Pretences to Religion, that it looked like Illnature to believe that ſuch ſanctified Perſons could entertain any but holy Purpoſes. In a Word, Religion was made a Cloak to

cover the moſt impious Deſigns; and Reputation of Honeſty, a Stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no Mind to be wicked. The Court was as full of Murmuring, Ingratitude and Treachery, and as willing and ready to rebel againſt the beſt and moſt bountiful Maſter in the World, as the Country and the City. A barbarous and bloody Fierceneſs and Savageneſs had extinguiſhed all Relations, hardened the Hearts and Bowels of all Men; and an univerſal Malice and Animoſity had even covered the moſt innocent and beſt-natured People and Nation upon the Earth.

THESE unavoidable Reflections firſt made him diſcern, how weak and fooliſh all his former Imaginations had been, and how blind a Surveyor He had been of the Inclinations and Affections of the Heart of Man; and it made him likewiſe conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the Dependance muſt be upon any Thing in this World, where whatſoever is good and deſirable *ſuddenly periſheth*, and Nothing is laſting but *the Folly and Wickedneſs of the Inhabitants thereof*. In this firſt Vacation, He had Leiſure to read many learned and pious Books; and here He began to compoſe his MEDITATIONS UPON THE PSALMS, by applying thoſe Devotions to the preſent Afflictions and Calamities of his King and Country. He began now by the eſpecial Encouragement of the King, who was then a Priſoner in the Army, to write THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS, and finiſhed the four firſt Books thereof; and made an Entry upon ſome Exerciſes of Devotion, which He lived to enlarge afterwards.

WHEN He had enjoyed, in that pleaſant Iſland of *Jerſey*, full two Years, in as great Serenity of Mind as the Separation from Country, Wife and Children can be imagined to admit, He received a Command from the Queen, then at *St. Germains*, and an expreſs Order from the King, upon which the other had been ſent, his Majeſty being then Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, that He ſhould forthwith attend the Perſon of the

the Prince of *Wales*, who, upon the Revolt of the Ships under the Command of the Parliament in the *Downs*, and their Profeſſion of Obedience to the King, was adviſed to make all poſſible Haſte to them; and the Chancellor was required to wait upon his Highneſs at *Roan* upon a Day aſſigned, which was paſt before the Orders came to him.

(516) AND then without any Delay He uſed all poſſible Diligence to find the Prince; who with greater Expedition, without coming to *Roan*, paſſed to *Calais*, and from thence to *Holland* to poſſeſs the Ships which He found there, and poſſeſſed them with all that Alacrity (which is always very loud) that Seamen can expreſs; and by the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange* got more Victual quickly on Board, that He might be in the *Downs* with the Fleet to ſecond ſome Attempt which was already on Foot in *Kent*, and others expected in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. And the Chancellor having in his Way called upon the Lord *Cottington* at *Roan*, and together with him, and ſome other Perſons of Honour and Quality, made what Haſte They could to *Dieppe*, that They might there embark for any Place where They ſhould hear the Prince to be; there They were informed, that his Highneſs was at the *Brill* in *Holland*. And thereupon They put themſelves on Board a *French* Man of War, and upon the Sea were taken Priſoners by *Oſtenders*, who, upon the Advantage of being in the Ship of an Enemy, concluded them to be lawful Prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the Circumſtances of Barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of Money and Jewels of great Value, and ſtripped moſt of their Servants to their Shirts, They carried them in great Triumph to *Oſtend*; where though their Perſons were uſed with Civility and Reſpect, and preſently ſet at Liberty, yet They were compelled to ſtay there many Days, in Hope to obtain the Jewels and Money of which They had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done (thoſe Privateers being ſubject to no Diſci-

pline, nor regarding the Orders of the Admiralty, or any other Governour), to make ſuch Proviſion as was neceſſary for a further Voyage. And at laſt They got from *Oſtend* to *Fluſhing*, having found Means to inform the Prince of their Miſadventures, and of their Readineſs at *Fluſhing* to receive and obey his Commands.

The Fleet was then in the *Downs* in ſo good a Poſture, by the Acceſs of other Ships and Veſſels to it, and by ſome notable Commotions on Land, that the Proſpect was fair and hopeful. And the Prince received the Advertiſement no ſooner, than He was pleaſed to ſend a Frigate to *Fluſhing* for thoſe who had been ſo long expected. But the Winds proved then ſo croſs and tempeſtuous in the gentleſt Seaſon of the Year, that after ſeveral Attempts at Sea, They were ſo often driven back again into the Harbour, ſometimes by very dangerous Storms, that in the End They received new Directions to attend the Prince at the *Hague*, the Fleet being at the ſame Time under Sail for that Coaſt.

The Earl of *Lautherdale* was at that Time come to the Fleet as Commiſſioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to inform the Prince, that Duke *Hamilton* with a powerful Army was already marched into *England*; and thereupon to invite his Highneſs to make what Haſte He could, to put himſelf in the Head of that Army, according to a Promiſe the King had made in ſome private Treaty with the *Scots*; and which the Queen had ſent very poſitive Commands to be obſerved and obeyed. This was the Reaſon, not without other more reaſonable Motives, ſo ſuddenly to quit the *Downs*, that He might get more Victual for the Fleet, and therewith ſail to the *North*, and diſembark in ſuch a Place as ſhould be neareſt to the *Scots* Army, with which He doubted not to find a very conſiderable Conjunction of the *Engliſh*; ſince He knew that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had poſſeſſed himſelf with a Body of *Engliſh* Officers and Gentlemen, of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* had done the ſame with the like Aſſiſtance, at *Carliſle*, before the *Scots* began their March.

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(317) THE Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague* the next Day after the Prince his Arrival, and were graciouſly received by his Highneſs, and and with a wonderful Kindneſs by all the Court, and all the Gentlemen who had attended upon him; not ſo much out of Affection to them, as out of Deteſtation of one another, who had kept Company for the Space of two Months laſt paſt.

THE Prince had found the common Seamen full of ſuch a keen Devotion for his Service upon the true Principles of the Cauſe, and for the Redemption of the King his Father out of Priſon, and ſo full of Indignation againſt thoſe who had formerly miſled them into Rebellion, eſpecially the *Preſbyterians*; that as They had before the Declaration ſet all thoſe Officers on Shore by Force, who were appointed by the Parliament to command them, ſo now They thought the new ones which They had choſen for themſelves, not fierce and reſolute enough for their Purpoſes. The Truth is; there had been much unſkilful Tampering amongſt them by Emiſſaries from *Paris*, and other Attempts. And the Duke of *York*, having made his Eſcape very little Time before, and being then at the *Hague* when the Fleet came to *Helvoetſluys*, upon the firſt Notice loſt no Time in making Haſte to them. It was generally known, that the King his Father had long deſigned to make him High Admiral of *England*; and the Commiſſion which had been formerly granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* They all knew to be repealed and cancelled: So that He no ſooner came to the Fleet, but He was received with the uſual Acclamations of Joy as their Admiral, and He as cheerfully aſſumed the Command. And his ſmall Family preſently began to propagate their ſeveral Factions and Animoſities, with which They abounded, to make ſuch Parties amongſt the Seamen as might advance their ſeveral Pretences. And in this Poſture the Prince found the Fleet when He came to it, and reſolved to take the Command immediately into his own Hand,

and that the Duke ſhould remain at the *Hague* with his Siſter, till that Expedition were over; and ſo He made Haſte with the Fleet into the *Downs*, hoping that ſome preſent Occaſion would be the beſt Expedient to extinguiſh that Fire, and compoſe thoſe Diſtempers, which He diſcerned already to be kindled amongſt the Seamen.

THE Advice and Inſtruction which were brought from *Paris* were grounded upon the Treaty with *Scotland*, the marching of that Army, and the Expectation of ſome notable Attempt by the Preſbyterian Party in *London*; in Order to which, all Addreſs was to be made to that City, and a Declaration to be publiſhed to gratify that Party. This Secret was intruſted only to one of the Council, and one other who was to be miniſterial in whatſoever the other directed. And this Temper was quickly diſcovered when They came into the *Downs*, by the great Care that was taken to give no Offence or Interruption to the Trade of the City, which all Men believed would be the beſt Means to reduce it. Ships of Return, richly laden, were ſuffered quietly to paſs thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewiſe quietly permitted to proſecute their Voyage: All which was paſſionately oppoſed by Prince *Rupert* and all the reſt of the Council. And this Contradiction was quickly known to the Lords of the Bedchamber, and others, who had no Reverence for that Council, and were now the more inflamed upon this Diviſion of Opinion. And the Seamen likewiſe coming to take Notice of it cried out, "the Prince was betrayed;" and grew into ſuch Rage and Fury, that They declared, "that "They would throw thoſe overboard who gave the "Prince ſuch evil Counſel." Two or three unproſperous Attempts at Land, and then the Lord *Lauther-* (318)
dale's coming thither, and the Order thereupon for the Fleet to ſail preſently for *Holland* for the Reaſons aforeſaid, kindled all thoſe Sparkles into a bright Flame of Diſſenſion, ſo univerſal, that there were very few who

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ſpake with any Civility of one another, or without the higheſt Animoſity that can be imagined.

THIS was the diſtracted Condition of Affairs when the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague*; the Council divided between themſelves, and more offended with the Court for Preſumption in making themſelves of the Council, and oppoſing whatſoever the other directed, by their private Whiſpering to the Prince in Reproach of them, and their publick Murmurings againſt their Perſons for the Counſel They gave, every Man endeavouring to incenſe others againſt thoſe who were not affected by him; and this ill Humour increaſed by ſuch an univerſal Poverty, that very few knew where to find a Subſiſtence for three Months to come, or how to diſpoſe of themſelves. The Clamour from the Fleet was ſo high for new Victual and for Money, that there was Apprehenſion juſt enough, that They would provide for themſelves by returning to their old Station; to which They had both Opportunity and Invitation, by the Parliament's having ſet out another Fleet ſuperiour in Power to them, that were already at Anchor in their View, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, to block them up in that inconvenient Harbour. The ſudden News of the total Defeat of the *Scots* Army; and ſhortly after of the Loſs of *Colcheſter*, and taking the Perſons of ſo many gallant Gentlemen, and murdering ſome of them in cold Blood; the daily warm Conteſts in Council upon the inſolent Behaviour and the unreaſonable Demands of the Lord *Lautherdale*, who as peremptorily inſiſted upon the Prince's going immediately with the Fleet into *Scotland*, as He had done before the total Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, and without expecting to hear what Alteration that fatal Change had produced in that Kingdom, which was very reaſonable to apprehend, and in Truth had at that Time really fallen out: Theſe and many other ill Preſages made the Chancellor quickly find, that in his two Years Repoſe in *Jerſey* He had not fortified himſelf enough againſt

againſt future Aſſaults, nor laid in Ballaſt to be prepared to ride out the Storms and Tempeſts that He was like to be engaged in.

THE Preſervation of the Fleet was a Conſideration that would bear no Delay; and was in a ſhort Time, though with infinite Difficulties and Conteſts full of Animoſity, reſolved to be by committing the Charge of it to Prince *Rupert*, who was to carry it into *Ireland*, where were many good Ports in his Majeſty's Obedience. But that was no ſooner done, but the horrid Murder of the King, and the formed Diſſolution of the Monarchy there, and erecting and eſtabliſhing the Government in that Kingdom with a ſeeming general Conſent, at leaſt without any viſible Appearance or Poſſibility of Contradiction or Oppoſition; the faint Proclamation of the preſent King in *Scotland*, under the ſame Conditions which They would have impoſed, and with all the Circumſtances with which They had proſecuted the Rebellion againſt his Father; the Reſolution what was fit for the young King to undertake in his own Perſon, and the diſmal Proſpect, how all the neighbour Princes were ſolicitous not to pay him any ſuch Civilities, as might encourage him to expect any Thing from them; were all Arguments of Perplexity and Conſternation to all Men, who had been moderately verſed in the Tranſaction of Affairs; and were too many Things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the Chancellor uſed to ſay, "that all the Bu-"ſineſs He had been converſant in, from the Begin-"ning to his coming to the *Hague*, had not adminiſ-"tered Half the Difficulties and Diſconſolation, had (519)"not half ſo much diſturbed and diſtracted his Un-"derſtanding, and broken his Mind, as the next ſix "Months from that Time had done." Nor could He ſee any Light before him to preſent a Way to the King, by entering into which He might hopefully avoid the greateſt Miſery that ever Prince had been expoſed to. His own particular Condition (under ſo general a Mortification)

Mortification) afflicted him very little, having long compoſed himſelf by a Reſolution, with God's Bleſſing, to do his Duty without Heſitation, and to leave all the reſt to the Diſpoſition of Providence.

WHEN the Fleet was committed to the Government of Prince *Rupert* to embark for *Ireland*, it was enough foreſeen by thoſe who foreſaw what naturally might fall out, that *Ireland* was probably like to be the Place whither it might be the moſt counſellable for the Prince himſelf to repair. But as it was not then ſeaſonable in many Reſpects to publiſh ſuch an Imagination; ſo it was not poſſible to keep the Fleet where it then was, or in any Port of the Dominions of *Holland*, where the *States* were already perplexed what Anſwer They ſhould return if the new Commonwealth ſhould demand the Ships, or whether They were not obliged to deliver them: And therefore no Time was to be loſt. Nor was the Voyage itſelf like to be ſecure, but by the Benefit of the Winter Seaſon, and the unquiet Seas They were to paſs through; which would have made it too dangerous a Voyage for the Perſon of the Prince, who muſt find a ſhorter Paſſage thither, when it ſhould be neceſſary.

WHEN that inhuman Impiety was acted at *London*, and the young King had in ſome Degree recovered his Spirits from the ſudden Aſtoniſhment, and had received the vile Proclamation and Propoſitions from *Scotland*, his Majeſty with thoſe few who were of neareſt Truſt concluded, "that it would be ſhortly of Neceſſity to "tranſport himſelf into *Ireland*;" which was to be the higheſt Secret, that it might be equally unſuſpected in *England* and in *Scotland*. "That He ſhould *incognito*, "or with a light Train, paſs through *France* to *Nants*, "or ſome other Port of *Bretagne*, where two or three "Ships of War, which He could not doubt of obtain-"ing by the Favour of his Brother the Prince of "*Orange*, might attend him; and from thence He "might with the leaſt Hazard embark for the neareſt "Coaſt of *Ireland*, where the Marquis of *Ormond* might "meet him."

THIS

THIS being concluded in that Manner, the Lord *Cottington* went in a Morning to the King before He was dreſſed; and deſired, "that when He was ready, "He would give him a private Audience in his Clo-"ſet." He there told him, "that his Majeſty had "taken the moſt prudent Reſolution that his Condition "would admit, for *Ireland*; where there remained yet "ſome Foundation for Hope. That for himſelf He was "ſo old and infirm" (for to his ſeventy five Years, which was then his Age, He had frequent and painful Viſitations of the Gout and the Stone), "that his Majeſty "could not expect his perſonal Attendance in ſo many "Journies by Land as He muſt be expoſed to: Yet "having ſerved the Crown throughout the Reign of "his Grandfather and his Father, He was very de-"ſirous to finiſh his Life in his Majeſty's Service."

"THAT He had reflected upon the woful Condi-"tion his Affairs were in, not more by the Power of "his Rebels, than by being abandoned by all his "neighbour Princes. That it was too apparent, that "neither of them would embark themſelves in his "Quarrel; ſo that the utmoſt He could hope from "them was, that in ſome ſecret Manner They might "contribute ſuch a Supply and Relief to him, as "might give him a Subſiſtence, till ſome new Acci-(520) "dents and Alterations at Home or abroad might "produce a more ſeaſonable Conjuncture. That even "in that Particular, He doubted the Magnanimity or "Generoſity of Princes would not be very conſpicu-"ous: However it being all his preſent Dependance, "He muſt try all the Ways He could to provoke them "to that Diſpoſition."

"THAT He knew the Crown of *Spain* was ſo low "at that Time, that whatever their Inclinations might "be, They could neither ſupply him with Ships or "Men or Money towards the raiſing or ſupporting of "an Army: Yet that He knew too, that there is ſuch "a Proportion of Honour, and of a generous Com-"paſſion and Bounty, that is inſeparable from that

"Crown,

"Crown, and even runs through that People, which "other Nations are not inſpired with. And He was "confident, that if his Majeſty ſent an Ambaſſadour "thither, how neceſſitous ſoever that Court might be, "it would never refuſe to make ſuch an Aſſignment "of Money to him as might, well huſbanded, pro- "vide a decent Support for him in *Ireland*; where "likewiſe the King of *Spain* had Power to do his Ma- "jeſty more Offices than any other Prince could do, "or He any where elſe, by the univerſal Influence He "had upon the *Iriſh* Nation. And General *Owen* "*O Neile*, who was the only Man that then obſtructed "the Union of that People in a Submiſſion to the "King, had been bred up in the Court of *Spain*, and "had ſpent all his Time in the Service of that Crown, "and had ſtill his ſole Dependance upon it; and there- "fore it was to be preſumed, that He might be in- "duced by Direction from *Madrid*, to conform him- "ſelf to a Conjunction with the Marquis of *Ormond*, "the King's Lieutenant there." He ſaid, "that his "Majeſty knew well that He had ſpent a great Part of "his Life in that Court, in the Service of his Grand- "father and Father; and He would be willing to end "his Days there, if it were thought of Uſe to his "Affairs."

THE Diſcourſe was too reaſonable not to make Impreſſion upon the King; which diſcovering in his Countenance, the other deſired him, "that He would "think that Day upon all that He had ſaid, without "communicating it to any Body, till the next Morn- "ing, when He would again wait on him to know his "Opinion upon the Whole; for if his Majeſty ſhould "approve of what He propoſed, He had another Par- "ticular to offer, before the Matter ſhould be pub- "lickly debated." When He came the next Morn- ing, and found the King was much pleaſed with what He had before diſcourſed, and aſked what the other Particular was that He intended to offer; the Lord

Cotting-

Cottington told him, "that He was very glad his Ma-
"jeſty was ſo well pleaſed with what He had pro-
"poſed, which He confeſſed the more He had re-
"volved himſelf, the more hopeful the Succeſs ap-
"peared to him; which made him the more ſolici-
"tous, that through any Inadvertency ſuch a Deſign
"might not miſcarry."

He put him then in Mind again "of his great
"Age, how unlike it was that He ſhould be able to
"hold out ſuch a Journey, or, if He did, the Fa-
"tigue thereof would probably caſt him into a Fit of
"the Gout or the Stone, or Both, which if He ſhould
"outlive, He ſhould be long detained from the Pro-
"ſecution of his Buſineſs, which the leſs vigorouſly
"purſued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore
propoſed, "that He might have a Companion with
"him, of more Youth and a ſtronger Conſtitution,
"who would receive ſome Benefit by the Information
"and Advice He ſhould be able to give him, the
"Advantage whereof would redound for the preſent,
"and might more in the future, to the King's Ser-
"vice;" and in Fine propoſed, "that the Chancellor
"of the Exchequer might be joined in the Commiſ-
"ſion with him, and accompany him into *Spain*, from
"whence if They made Haſte in their Journey, They (521)
"might make ſuch a Progreſs in that Court, that He
"might be able to attend his Majeſty in *Ireland* in a
"very ſhort Time after his Arrival there; whilſt him-
"ſelf remained ſtill at *Madrid*, to proſecute all farther
"Opportunities to advance his Service."

The King was ſurpriſed with the Overture; and
aſked, "whether the Chancellor would be willing to
"undertake the Employment, and whether He had
"ſpoken with him of it." To which the other preſently
replied, "that He knew not, nor had ever ſpoke to
"him of it, nor would do, till his Majeſty, if He
"liked it, ſhould firſt prepare him; for He knew
"well He would at firſt be ſtartled at it, and it may
"be

"be might take it unkindly. That He knew well "how much of the Weight of his Buſineſs lay upon "the Chancellor's Shoulders, and in that Reſpect that "many others would not be willing He ſhould be ab- "ſent: Yet that there was a long Vacation in View, "and there could be little to be done till the King "ſhould come into *Ireland*; and by that Time He "might be with him again, with ſuch a Return from "*Spain* as might be welcome and convenient to him. "And therefore if his Majeſty would firſt break the "Matter to him, He would then take the Work "upon him; and He believed He ſhould give him "ſuch Reaſons, ſince He could not ſuſpect his Friend- "ſhip" (which was very notorious, and They lived then together), "as would diſpoſe him to the "Journey."

WHEN the King ſpake to him of it, as a Thing that had reſulted from his own Thoughts; "that He "had more Hope to obtain ſome Supply from *Spain*, "than from any other Place; that no Man could be "ſo fit to ſolicit it as the Lord *Cottington*, and No- "body ſo fit to accompany him as He, who might "be with him in *Ireland* in a ſhort Time;" He ſaid, "He had ſpoken with Lord *Cottington* to undertake "the Employment, to which He was not averſe; "but He had expreſsly refuſed to undertake it alone, "and He knew that no Companion would be ſo ac- "ceptable to him as He would be."

THE Chancellor did not at firſt diſſemble the Apprehenſion, that this Device had been contrived at *Paris*, where He knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wiſhed to be about the King, or to have ſo much Credit with him as They were Both thought to have: But the King quickly expelled that Jealouſy. And He deſired a ſhort Time to conſider of it; and received ſuch Reaſons (beſides Kindneſs in the Invitation) from the Lord *Cottington*, that He did not ſubmit only to the King's Pleaſure, but very willingly

willingly undertook the Employment: And, though it was afterwards delayed by the Importunity of many, and the Queen's own Advice, who thought the Chancellor's Attendance about the Perſon of the King her Son to be more uſeful to his Service, than it was like to be in the other Climate, the King was firm to his Purpoſe; and diſpatched them ſhortly after his coming into *France*, when He reſolved and prepared for his own Expedition into *Ireland*, in Order to which there were then ſome *Dutch* Ships of War that waited for him at *St. Maloes*.

His ſecond Retreat in Spain.

THIS was the Occaſion and Ground of his ſecond Retreat and Receſs from a very uneaſy Condition, of which He was not more weary in Reſpect of the Difficulty and Melancholy of the Buſineſs, from which He could not entirely diſentangle himſelf by Abſence, than in Reſpect of the Company He was to keep in the conducting it, who had Humours and Inclinations uneaſy to him, irreſolute in themſelves, and contrary for the moſt Part to his Judgment. And He did ſtill acknowledge, that He did receive much Refreſhment and Benefit by that Negotiation. For though the Employment proved ineffectual to the Purpoſes for which it was intended, by the King's finding it neceſſary to divert his intended Journey for *Ireland*, into that of *Scotland*; yet He had Vacancy to recollect and compoſe his broken Thoughts; and mended his Underſtanding, in the Obſervation and Experience of another Kind of Negotiation than He had formerly been acquainted with, under the Aſſiſtance, Advice and Friendſhip of the moſt able Perſon, and the beſt acquainted with foreign Negotiations and the general Intereſts of the ſeveral Kings and States in *Chriſtendom*, of any Stateſman then alive in *Europe*, and who delighted in giving him all the Information He could. He was converſant in a Court of another Nature and Humour, of another Kind of Grandeur and Gravity, of another Conſtitution and Policy; and where Ambaſſadours

baſſadours are more eſteemed and regarded, and live with more Converſation and a better Intelligence amongſt themſelves, than in any other Court in the World.

THE leſs of Buſineſs He had, He was the more vacant to ſtudy the Language and the Manners and the Government of that Nation. He made a Collection of and read many of the beſt Books which are extant in that Language, eſpecially in the Hiſtories of their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State. Upon the reading the Pontifical Hiſtory written by *Illeſcas* in two Volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other Volumes, He begun there firſt his ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE SUPERIORITY AND SUPREMACY OF THE POPE, which He afterwards continued to a perfect Work. Here He reſumed the Continuation of his DEVOTIONS ON THE PSALMS, and other Diſcourſes of Piety and Devotion, which He reviewed and enlarged in his later Times of Leiſure. Though He underwent in this Employment many Mortifications of ſeveral Kinds, yet He ſtill acknowledged that He learned much during the Time of his being in *Spain*, from whence He returned a little before the Battle of *Worceſter*; and after the King's miraculous Eſcape into *France*, He quickly waited upon his Majeſty, and was never ſeparated from his Perſon, till ſixteen or ſeventeen Years after by his Baniſhment.

His third Retreat after his Baniſhment.

THIS He called his third and moſt bleſſed Receſs, in which God vouchſafed to exerciſe many of his Mercies towards him. And though He entered into it with many very diſconſolate Circumſtances; yet in a ſhort Time, upon the Recovery of a better State of Health, and being remitted into a Poſture of Eaſe and Quietneſs, and ſecure from the Power of his Enemies, He recovered likewiſe a marvellous Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind, by making a ſtrict Review and Recollection into all the Actions, all the Faults and Follies, committed by him-

himſelf and others in his laſt continued Fatigue of ſeventeen or eighteen Years; in which He had received very many ſignal Inſtances of God's Favour, and in which He had ſo behaved himſelf, that He had the good Opinion and Friendſhip of thoſe of the beſt Fame, Reputation and Intereſt, and was generally believed to have deſerved very well of the King and Kingdom.

In all this Retirement He was very ſeldom vacant, and then only when He was under ſome ſharp Viſitation of the Gout, from reading excellent Books, or writing ſome Animadverſions and Exercitations of his own, as appears by the Papers and Notes which He left. He learned the *Italian* and *French* Languages, in which He read many of the choiceſt Books. Now He finiſhed the Work which his Heart was moſt ſet upon, THE HISTORY OF THE LATE CIVIL WARS AND TRANSACTIONS TO THE TIME OF THE KING'S RETURN IN THE YEAR 1660; of which He gave the King Advertiſement. He finiſhed his REFLECTIONS AND DEVOTIONS UPON THE PSALMS OF DAVID, which He dedicated to his Children; which was ended at *Montpelier* before the Death of the Dutcheſs. He wrote and finiſhed his ANSWER TO MR. HOBBES HIS LEVIATHAN, to which He prefixed an Epiſtle dedicatory to the King, if his Majeſty would permit it. He wrote a good Volume of ESSAYS, DIVINE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL, to which He was always adding. He prepared A DISCOURSE HISTORICAL OF THE PRETENCE AND PRACTICE OF THE SUCCESSIVE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT JURISDICTION THEY ASSUME; in which He thought He had fully vindicated the Power and Authority of Kings from that odious Uſurpation. He entered upon the forming A METHOD FOR THE BETTER DISPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THAT IT MAY BE MORE PROFITABLY AND EXACTLY COMMUNICATED THAN IT

IT HATH YET BEEN. He left ſo many Papers of ſeveral Kinds, and cut out ſo many Pieces of Work, that a Man may conclude, that He never intended to be idle.

IN a Word, He did not only by all poſſible Adminiſtrations ſubdue his Affections and Paſſions, to make his Mind conformable to his preſent Fortune; but did all He could to lay in a Stock of Patience and Proviſion, that might ſupport him in any future Exigent or Calamity that might befal him: Yet with a cheerful Expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful Combination which then oppreſſed him.

THE END.

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FINIS.

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